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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM AND W.B. YEATS:

THE ALCHEMICAL MODEL AND THE PHANTASMAGORIC IMAGINATION

by



MARY G. HAMILTON

VOLUME TWO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1980

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NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹ W.B. Yeats, "A Symbolical Drama in Paris," The Bookman, 6 (April, 1894); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, Vol. I, First Reviews and Articles 1886-1896, ed. John P. Frayne (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 322.

² *Ibid.*, 322-23.

³ W.B. Yeats, "Aglavaine and Sélysette," The Bookman, 12 (Sept., 1897); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, Vol. II, Reviews, Articles and Other Miscellaneous Prose 1897-1939, ed. John P. Frayne and Colton Johnson (London: Macmillan, 1975), 52.

⁴ W.B. Yeats, "The Autumn of the Body," in Ideas of Good and Evil (London: Bullen, 1903); rpt. in Essays and Introductions (London: Macmillan, 1969), 189.

⁵ "Aglavaine and Sélysette," 52.

⁶ See for example, W.B. Yeats, Autobiographies (London: Macmillan, 1966), 320-21. Among the critics who have shown interest in the relationships of Yeats with French literature are Marie-Hélène Pauly, "W.B. Yeats et les symbolistes français," Revue de Littérature Comparée, 20, No. 1 (jan.-mar., 1940), 13-33; A.M. Killen, "Some French Influences in the Works of W.B. Yeats at the end of the Nineteenth Century," Comparative Literature Studies (Cardiff), 8 (1942), 1-8; William York Tindall, "The Symbolism of W.B. Yeats," Accent, 5, No. 4 (Summer, 1945); rpt. in The Permanence of Yeats, ed. James Hall and Martin Steinmann (Macmillan, c1950; rpt. New York: Collier, 1961), 238-49; C.M. Bowra, The Heritage of Symbolism (London: Macmillan, 1947); Harry Goldgar, "Deux Dramaturges symbolistes: Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et William Butler Yeats," Diss. Paris 1948; Harry Goldgar "Axël de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et The Shadowy Waters de W.B. Yeats," Revue de Littérature Comparée, 24 (oct.-dec., 1950), 563-74; Ihab Habib Hassan, "French Symbolism and Modern British Poetry: with Yeats, Eliot and Edith Sitwell as Indices," Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1953; Lloyd Clifford Parks, "The Influence of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam on W.B. Yeats," Diss. Washington 1959; E. Davis, Yeats's Early Contacts with French Poetry, Communications of the University of South Africa, C29 (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1961); Marilyn Gaddis Rose, "Yeats's Use of Axël," Comparative Drama, 4 (Winter, 1970-71), 253-64; Dwight Eddins, Yeats: The Nineteenth-Century Matrix

(University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, c1971), 128-54; Stella Revard, "Yeats, Mallarmé, and the Archetypal Feminine," Papers on Language and Literature, 8, Supplement (Fall, 1972), 112-27.

Lloyd Clifford Parks points out that it was probably Arthur Symons who introduced Yeats to Villiers's work (Parks, 3). Symons' first article on Villiers appeared in The Woman's World in 1889 ("Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," 657-60). In 1891 he published a second article on Villiers, this time in The Illustrated London News ("Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," [Jan. 24, 1891], 118). This was also the year in which the Rhymer's Club was formed and Yeats's friendship with Symons began. Yeats doubtlessly read translations of Villiers's play La Révolte and "La Reine Ysabeau." A translation of La Révolte by Mrs. Thomas Barclay appeared in The Fortnightly (Dec., 1897), a review to which Yeats was a frequent contributor; in Some Memories of W.B. Yeats (New York: Macmillan, 1940), John Masefield notes that Yeats praised La Révolte. Parks is in error when he says that "Queen Ysabeau" and Yeats's "Costello the Proud, Oona Macdermot, and the Bitter Tongue" appear in the same number of The Pageant (Parks, 3). Yeats's story was published in the 1896 issue of The Pageant whereas the translation of "La Reine Ysabeau" by A. Teixeira de Mattos does not appear in The Pageant until the next year, 1897. Nonetheless, Parks is probably correct in assuming Yeats would have read this translation. There is also a reference in Samhain, 1902, to Villiers's Tribulat Bonhomet, although Parks suspects from the form it takes that Yeats had not read the work: "Did not M. Trebulet Bonhommie [sic] discover that one spot of ink would kill a swan?" (Samhain [Oct., 1902], 6; rpt. with spelling corrected in Explorations, selected by Mrs. W.B. Yeats [London: Macmillan, 1962], 90). It may be more than a coincidence that Mallarmé's lecture on Villiers, given in 1890, opens with the following passage:

Sait-on ce que c'est qu'écrire? Une ancienne et très vague mais jalouse pratique, dont gît le sens au mystère du coeur.

Qui l'accomplit, intégralement se retranche.

Autant, par ouï-dire, que rien n'existe et soi, spécialement, au reflet de la divinité éparse: c'est, ce jeu insensé d'écrire, s'arroger, en vertu d'un doute--la goutte d'encre apparentée à la nuit sublime--quelque devoir de tout recréer, avec des réminiscences, pour avérer qu'on est bien là où l'on doit être.

(Stéphane Mallarmé, "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: Conférence," in Oeuvres complètes, ed. Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade [Paris]: Gallimard, c1945, 481).

⁷ Autobiographies, 320.

⁸ See The Letters of W.B. Yeats, ed. Allan Wade (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954), 230; hereafter cited as Letters.

⁹ W.B. Yeats, Preface to Axel, by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, trans. H.P.R. Finberg (London: Jarrolds, 1925), 9. Like Finberg, many writers and editors, including sometimes Yeats, spell Axël without the umlaut. In quotations I have duplicated the spelling of the original without comment; in my own text I have adopted Villiers's spelling.

¹⁰ "A Symbolical Drama," 325.

¹¹ Ibid., 324-25. Yeats's zeal for Axël led him to attempt arrangements for an English production of the play, "but the London public was thought unprepared, being in its first enthusiasm for Jones and Pinero" (Preface to Axel, 11).

¹² Preface to Axel, 78.

¹³ See Letters, 805.

¹⁴ Autobiographies, 115-16.

¹⁵ W.B. Yeats, "Three Irish Poets," The Irish Homestead (Dec., 1897); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, II, 71.

¹⁶ Preface to Axel, 8. See also "Aglavaine and Sélysette," 52. De Gourmont's actual words were: Villiers "a rouvert les portes de l'au-delà closes avec quel fracas, on s'en souvint, et par ces portes toute une génération s'est ruée vers l'infini" ("Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," in Le Livre des Masques [Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1896], 91). De Gourmont goes on to say that the ecclesiastical hierarchy has both exorcists and doorkeepers (porters). The latter are those who open the doors of the sanctuary to "toutes les bonne volontés." Villiers, according to de Gourmont, was both exorcist and doorkeeper: "il fut l'exorciste du réel et le portier de l'idéal."

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹ Jean Moréas, "Un Manifeste littéraire," Figaro Littéraire (18 sept., 1886); rpt. in Les Premières Armes du symbolisme, ed. Léon Vanier, Curiosités Littéraires (Paris: 1889), 31-39 and in Guy Michaud, Message poétique du symbolisme (Paris: Nizet, 1947), 723-26.

² "Aglavaine and Sélysette," 52.

³ Dorothy Knowles, La Réaction idéaliste au théâtre depuis 1890, Bibliothèque de la Société des Historiens du Théâtre, ⁴ (Paris: Droz, 1934), 66. Axël was almost an obsession with Villiers: it occupied him on and off for nearly 20 years, from the time when the first part of the drama was serialized in La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique (beginning October 12, 1872), until his death on August 19, 1889. At the time of Villiers's death, Axël was in the process of being published by Quantin: 192 pages had been printed and another 32 revised, but the last 70 were still not in final shape. (J.-K. Huysmans gives this information in an appendix to the Quantin edition of Axël. The appendix is reprinted with additional manuscript fragments in the Mercure de France edition, where the page numbers have been adjusted to correspond to the text at hand.) Huysmans undertook the task of editing so that Axël could finally appear on January 17, 1890. For the publishing and production history of Axël, see E. Drougard, "L'Axël de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, 42, No. 4 (oct.-dec., 1935), 509-46. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Axël are to Vol. IV of Oeuvres complètes, 11 vols. (Paris: Mercure de France, 1914-1931; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).

⁴ From a holograph facsimile of the first page of a draft of the lecture, reproduced in an unpaginated appendix to Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Oeuvres, ed. Jacques-Henry Bornecque (Paris: Le Club Français du Livre, 1957). The page from the draft is quoted with some inaccuracies in Bornecque's Introduction to this edition of the Oeuvres (Introduction: Villiers de l'Isle-Adam martyr de l'absolu," lxx, lxxi). Bornecque prints, for example, "peut paraître" for "peut y paraître" and "et de toute autre nature" for "est de tout autre nature." Bornecque attributes the discovery of the unpublished text to P.-G. Castex.

⁵ Compare Yeats's description of the function of the Mask as changing from "revelation" to "concealment." See W.B. Yeats, A Vision (London: Macmillan, 1962), 85. In "A Preliminary Note on the Text of A Vision (1937)," Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, Yeats Studies ([Toronto]: Macmillan, c1975), Richard J. Finneran concludes that "the 1962 edition of A Vision . . . is the best available text" (320). Unless otherwise indicated, all references to A Vision are to this edition.

The Holy of Holies, in the inner sanctuary of the ancient Jewish Tabernacle housed the sacred Ark of the covenant which was shielded by two Cherubim of beaten gold. A Veil, with an image of the Cherubim it concealed, hid the Holy of Holies and the Ark from all (see Raphael Patai, The Hebrew Goddess [n.p.: Ktav Publishing House, c1967], 105-06). Patai notes that the Cherubim of Ezekiel's vision of the Temple each have two faces and hence are "Janus-like" (106-07).

⁶ E. Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens d'Axël," La Grande Revue, 35, No. 4 (avril, 1931), 267.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 268.

⁹ Ibid., 270.

¹⁰ Villiers, who delighted in playing Wagner's music on the piano, met the German composer on several occasions. He saw practically all his operas and served as an important channel for importing Wagnerism into nineteenth-century France. Villiers wrote a résumé of Rheingold, entitled "L'Or du Rhin," which appeared originally in L'Universel (21 août, 1869), 2-3. It was reprinted with an article on "L'Exposition internationale de peinture de Munich en 1869," under the general heading "Deux Inédits de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: la grande saison de Munich en 1869," in Les Nouvelles Littéraires, No. 876 (29 juillet, 1939), 1-2. On Villiers's meetings with Wagner, see Judith Gautier, "Le Collier des jours: troisième rang," Revue de Paris (1 fév., 1909), 517-41; (15 fév., 1909), 702-16; (1 mars, 1909), 167-84. A.W. Raitt discusses Wagner's influence on Villiers in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et le mouvement symboliste (Paris: Corti, 1965), 101-42 et passim. Yeats was also interested in Wagner and waited "with a great deal of expectancy" for a copy of Arthur Symons' essay "The Ideas of Richard Wagner," which appeared in the Quarterly Review (July, 1905) and was reprinted in Symons' Studies in Seven Arts (see Letters, 458). Yeats reported to Symons, "The Wagnerian essay touches my own theories at several points, and enlarges them at one or two" (Letters, 459). James W. Flannery includes a section

on "Yeats and Wagner" in W.B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 102-09.

¹¹ Autobiographies, 194.

¹² Villiers was exposed to a variety of occult philosophies, both through literature and through practitioners. His sources included Dumas, Bulwer-Lytton, Hugo, Gautier, Baudelaire, Marras, Görres, Mendès, Huysmans, V.-E. Michelet, and above all, Eliphas Lévi. François Jollivet-Castelot describes Lévi (the pseudonym of the Abbé Alphonse Louis Constant) as "l'Adepté des Adeptes de ce [dix-neuvième] siècle" (Comment on devient alchimiste, Edition de "L'Hyperchimie" [Paris: Chamuel, 1897], 116. Jollivet-Castelot goes on to state that for the aspiring alchemist Lévi's books ought to be the bible of hermeticism (116). In "Villiers de L'Isle-Adam et Eliphas Lévi," E. Drougard details the links between the work of Villiers and that of Eliphas Lévi (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, 10, No. 3 [juillet-sept., 1931] 505-30). Drougard includes a list of closely parallel quotations from each author, concluding that Villiers has borrowed a number of themes, ideas, images, and symbols directly from Lévi. Among these are the magus, his wand, the rose, the mantle, and the lamp. We need not limit to Lévi the sources contributing to these aspects of Villiers's work in order to agree with Drougard that Lévi was a strong influence on Villiers. Metamorphosis and alchemy are among the many topics discussed by Lévi in his works, which include Dogme et rituel de la haute magie (1855 and 1856; 2nd ed. 1861); Histoire de la magie (1860); La Clef des grands mystères (1861). On Lévi's influence on Villiers, see also Harry Goldgar, "Deux Dramaturges," 205-07. Yeats was also acquainted with Lévi's work. Thomas Leslie Dume reports ("William Butler Yeats: A Survey of his Reading," Diss. Temple 1950) that Yeats read A.E. Waite's The Mysteries of Magic: A Digest of the Writings of Eliphas Lévi (1886). This is a direct translation from Lévi's writings with commentary by Waite (Dume, 131). Yeats would also have known Lévi's work through MacGregor Mathers, who quotes Lévi at length in such works as The Kabbalah Unveiled. Yeats mentions Lévi in a number of places, including Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry, The Speckled Bird, and the notes to Michael Robartes and the Dancer (1921). For information on the relationship of Lévi to the Order of the Golden Dawn, see Ellic Howe, The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Kathleen Raine, Yeats, the Tarot and the Golden Dawn, New Yeats Papers, 2 (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1972; and George Mills Harper, Yeats's Golden Dawn (London: Macmillan, 1974).

¹³ Maria Deenen points out that Villiers has written "pantacles" for "pentacles" (Le Merveilleux dans l'oeuvre de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam [Paris: Courville, 1939], 86n). Drougard and Raitt attribute

Villiers's peculiar spelling to the influence of Lévi's Dogme et rituel de la haute magie (see Drougard, "Villiers . . . et Eliphas Lévi," 527; Raitt, 193).

¹⁴ P[ierre]-V[incenti] Piobb, Clef universelle des sciences secrètes d'après les indications de la Poligraphie de Jean Tritheme, Omnium Littéraire (Paris: Les Editions des Champs-Élysées, c1950), I, 26.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Kaspar tells Axël, "Comte, soyons positifs, soyons sur la terre" (Axël, 133). Peter Bürgisser draws attention to Kaspar's positivist character in La Double Illusion de l'or et de l'amour chez Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Publications Universitaires Européenne, Series 13, Vol. I (Berne: Lang, 1969), 46-47.

¹⁷ "Our gold is not the common gold": quoted and translated in C.G. Jung, Psychology and Alchemy, trans. R.F.C. Hull, 2nd ed., Vol. XII of The Collected Works, Bollingen Series, 20 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1968), 34, 78n. Jung attributes the phrase to the Rosarium philosophorum (1550), reprinted in Artis auriferae (1593), II, 220.

¹⁸ Eliphas Lévi, Dogme et rituel de la haute magie, new ed., Librairie Générale des Sciences Occultes, 2 vols. (Paris: Chacornac, 1930), II, 164, 166. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Dogme et rituel are to this edition. "The absolute" is a recurrent term in alchemical works. Arthur Edward Waite explains that the term signifies "that transcendent Unity which is the perfection of the totality of Nature, 'for what is called the "absolute," the "absolute perfection," and the perfection of Nature, are one and the same'" (Alchemists through the Ages [before 1889; rpt. Blauvelt, N.Y.: Steiner, 1970], 11). Waite is quoting from "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," published anonymously in 1865 by "an American writer, named Hitchcock" (Waite, Alchemists, 10).

¹⁹ Carl Jung gives a detailed analysis of what he sees as the psychological implications of alchemy in Psychology and Alchemy. Writing of Janus, Peter Bürgisser says, "On a l'impression d'un alchimiste faisant une de ses expériences, seulement il n'opère pas avec des éléments chimiques, mais avec des âmes humaines, ou bien avec différentes entités de l'âme du poète dont il est une lui-même" (68). Much of the general information on alchemy which follows has been included previously in my article "Strindberg's Alchemical Way of the Cross," Mosaic, 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1974), 139-53.

²⁰ I discuss the significance of the opal and diamond necklaces later in this chapter. Maria Deenen (52) remarks on Villiers's fascination with gold and precious stones, especially the opal, which appears not only in Axël, but also, for example, in "Véra," "L'Inconnue," and "Droit du passée."

²¹ "This magistry proceeds first from one root, which afterwards expands into several things, and returns again to the one": Emperor Heraclius, quoted by Morienus Romanus, Sermo de transmutatione metallorum, rpt. in Artis auriferae, II; quoted and translated by Jung, 293n. In the version of Axël which appeared in La Jeune France, the book Kaspar glances at in Scene V of the second part (Traité des causes secondes) opens with the words: "La Nature est amoureuse du vide; la gueule du serpent attire sa queue; il se fuit et, en se fuyant, il se poursuit" (La Jeune France, 89 [déc., 1885], 257). Drougard quotes this epigraph and the passage it appears to be based on in Lévi's Dogme et rituel: "Le principe actif cherche le principe passif, le plein est amoureux du vide. La gueule du serpent attire sa queue, et en tournant sur lui-même, il se fuit et il se poursuit" (quoted in Drougard, "Villiers . . . et Eliphas Lévi," 510, 511).

²² Jung, 292-95. "Mercurius" is so central to alchemy as to have given it one of its many names: the Hermetic Art. Lévi refers to the "serpent qui se mord la queue" as symbol of the wholeness that results from the attraction of opposites. See, for example, Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 125, 131.

²³ In his review of Axël for The Bookman, Yeats writes of "the fourfold renunciation- -of the cloister, of the active life of the world, of the labouring life of the intellect, of the passionate life of love." He concludes that in Axël "The infinite is alone worth attaining, and the infinite is the possession of the dead. Such appears to be the moral" ("A Symbolical Drama," 324).

Pierre Mariel points out that Axël is a drama of renunciation. He links this aspect of the work with Lévi, specifically with Dogme et rituel:

Or la règle d'or édictée par Eliphas Lévi c'est:
"Renonce!"

Et cet extrait n'est-il pas la glose même de ces renoncements successifs [d'Axël]:

"Apprendre à se vaincre, c'est donc apprendre à vivre, et les austérités du stoïcisme n'étaient pas une vaine ostentation de liberté!

"Céder aux forces de la nature, c'est suivre le courant de la vie collective, c'est être esclave

des causes secondes.

"Résister à la nature et la dompter, c'est se faire une vie impersonnelle et impérissable, c'est s'affranchir des vicissitudes de la vie et de la mort."

Le double suicide qui achève la [quatrième] partie d'*Axël* [sic] prend tout son sens après la méditation de ce passage:

"La raison suprême étant le seul principe invariable, et par conséquent impérissable, puisque le changement est ce que nous appelons la mort, l'intelligence qui adhère fortement et s'identifie en quelque manière à ce principe, se rend par là même invariable, et, par conséquent, immortel.

"On comprend que, pour adhérer invariablement à la raison, il faut s'être rendu indépendant de toutes les forces qui produisent par le mouvement fatal et nécessaire les alternatives de la vie et de la mort. Savoir souffrir, s'abstenir et mourir, tels sont donc les premiers secrets qui nous mettent au-dessus de la douleur, des convoitises sensuelles et de la peur du néant"

(Pierre Mariel, Introduction to *Axël*, Littérature et Tradition, 1 [Paris: La Colombe, c1960], 24-25; emphasis is Mariel's). The quotations from Lévi are found on pages 113 and 110 respectively of Volume I of the edition cited in this dissertation.

²⁴ Piobb, II, 331. In his Preface to Jollivet-Castelot's *Comment on devient alchimiste*, "Dr. Papus" [G. Encausse] comments that "la pratique de l'évolution des métaux n'était pour [l'alchimiste] que l'application d'une loi générale dont Darwin et ses disciples n'ont retrouvé qu'un bien petit côté" (xx-xxi). One of the oldest of alchemical documents, the *Tabula Smaragdina* or *Emerald Table* attributed to "Hermes Trismegistus," presents the monist doctrine: "Il est Vrai . . . que toutes Choses se sont faites d'un Seul, par la Médiation d'un Seul: Ainsi Toutes Choses sont nées de cette même unique Chose, par Adaptation" (trans. by Jollivet-Castelot, 1). Later in his work, Jollivet-Castelot elaborates on this doctrine: "L'Alchimiste doit être hylozoïste, c'est-à-dire considérer la Matière comme vivante, la respecter conséquemment, la manipuler avec conscience de sa potentialité intellectuelle, y voir l'Etre multiplié, fragmenté, divisé, souffrant, mais tendant par incessante Evolution à se reconstituer dans l'Unité de la Substance" (Jollivet-Castelot, 132). See also "Sapere Aude" [W. Wynn Westcott], Preface, *An English Translation of the Hermetic Arcanum of Penes Nos Unda Tagi*, 1623, Vol. I of *Collectanea Hermetica* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1893), 8.

²⁵ Bon. Carra de Vaux, "Alchemy (Muhammadan)," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), I, 291.

²⁶ Piobb, II, 333-34.

²⁷ Ibid., 339-40. Compare Edouard Schuré's description of the Pythagorean teaching on "la loi du ternaire . . . la pierre angulaire de la science ésotérique":

Or le monde réel est triple. Car de même que l'homme se compose de trois éléments distincts mais fondus l'un dans l'autre, le corps, l'âme et l'esprit; de même l'univers est divisé en trois sphères concentrique: le monde naturel, le monde humain et le monde divin. La Triade ou loi du ternaire est donc la loi constitutive des choses et la véritable clef de la vie. . . .

Pythagore admettait que l'esprit de l'homme ou l'intellect tient de Dieu sa nature immortelle, invisible, absolument active. Car l'esprit est ce qui se meut soi-même. Il nommait le corps sa partie mortelle, divisible et passive. Il pensait que ce que nous appelons âme est étroitement uni à l'esprit, mais formé d'un troisième élément intermédiaire qui provient du fluide cosmique. L'âme ressemble donc à un corps éthéré que l'esprit se tisse et se construit à lui-même. Sans ce corps éthéré, le corps matériel ne pourrait pas être évertué et ne serait qu'une masse inerte et sans vie.

(Edouard Schuré, Les Grands Initiés esquisse de l'histoire secrète des religions [Paris: Perrin, 1908], 334, 332-33)

²⁸ Mariel comments on Sara's names: "Par ces prénoms, l'héroïne incarne la Femme Eternelle en ces Trois Règnes: Eve avant la Loi (Gen., II, 22); Sara (qui signifie princesse) durant la Loi de Yaheveh et d'Abraham (Gen., XVII, 15); Emmanuèle (Dieu est avec elle) au temps de la Grâce (Matth., I, 13)" (259 n2).

²⁹ Mariel, 260. It is perhaps a coincidence, but an interesting one, that among the stories of diverse mystic origins attributed to alchemy are legends that Isis taught the Great Art. In Le Silence éloquent: thèmes et structure de l'Eve future de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (Paris: Corti, 1975), Deborah Conyngham remarks that in Villiers's story "L'Inconnue" there is "une correspondance entre la femme inconnue et l'opale qu'elle porte. . . . [Il] semble exister entre l'opale et cette femme des rapports d'une puissante valeur symbolique. Félicien [l'héros] croit discerner en l'opale le caractère de l'âme inconnue" (Conyngham, 79). Conyngham also refers the reader to the opal in "Véra": "Plus Véra semble vivante, plus l'opale brille" (Conyngham, 79n).

³⁰ Note the constant association of Sara with the colour white; see, for instance, the frequent references to her pallor, as on page 215, and the "longue tunique de moire blanche" that she wears for the taking of her vows (Axël, 34).

³¹ Compare Villiers's use of the name Azraël in "L'Annonciateur" (E. Drougard, "Les Sources d'Axël," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, 43 [1936], 554-55). There is an interesting reference to "The Archangel Axel" in a song attributed by Lady Gregory to Yeats. The song was printed in Lady Gregory's play "The Travelling Man," The Shanachie (Spring, 1906). See The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats, ed. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York: Macmillan, c1957), 773-74; hereafter cited as Poems.

³² Piobb notes that alchemists pun, for example, on the word elixir, which recalls the Greek helix. The latter may be written in two ways: with an epsilon it means circular movement, and with an eta it means comrade (Piobb, II, 378). Piobb also points to a pun with athanor, the alchemist's furnace. The word recalls the Greek athanès, which was used instead of athanatos (meaning immortal, imperishable). From this the alchemists derived athanos and concocted athanor "pour évoquer par un calembour français 'acte en or'" (Piobb, II, 347). Conyngham stresses the importance to Villiers of the play on words: "sa philosophie dépend en partie de la multiplicité de significations et des jeux de mots" (Conyngham, 19). She discusses the role of the pun in Villiers's work at some length (see especially Conyngham, 34-40).

³³ See J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, trans. Jack Sage (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), 154.

³⁴ Jung, 434.

³⁵ On Janus's being a doctor, see Axël, 24, 285; on his telepathic powers, see 190, 192, 200.

³⁶ Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens," 269.

³⁷ Jung, 223, drawing upon Jacobus Boschiuss, Symbolographia, sive de arte symbolica sermones septem (Augsburg, 1702).

³⁸ Jung, 229. Alchemists sometimes speak of the viriditas (greening) after the nigredo, but Jung notes that this colour stage "was never generally recognized."

³⁹ See Jung, 229-32 and Cirlot, 6.

⁴⁰ Lévi devotes an entire chapter of Dogme et rituel to "Le Septénaire des talismans." He suggests relationships between, for example, the seven archangels, the seven planets, the seven colours of the spectrum, the seven musical notes, the seven virtues and seven vices, the seven sacraments, the seven magical works, and the seven days of the week (II, 111-33).

⁴¹ Pernétry, Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique, quoted in Piobb, II, 337.

⁴² Piobb, II, 341. Compare Lévi: "Séparer le subtil de l'épais dans la première opération, qui est tout intérieur, c'est affranchir son âme de tout préjugé et de tout vice" (Dogme et rituel, I, 253). This is a gloss on a passage from the Emerald Table, which Lévi translates as "Tu sépareras la terre du feu, le subtil de l'épais, doucement, avec grande industrie" (I, 252).

⁴³ Piobb, II, 347-48.

⁴⁴ Villiers was influenced in his early career by Bertrand's poems in prose, Gaspard de la Nuit. While editor-in-chief of La Revue des Lettres et des Arts, Villiers published a number of selections from Gaspard under the title Fantaisies. (See Raitt, 154-55.) Villiers knew Weber's great romantic triumph, Der Freischütz, which was first performed in 1821. He gave the opera an important role in L'Eve future, where Alicia Clary's miscomprehension of its nature and significance is used as an illustration and gauge of her lack of soul (see L'Eve future, Vol. I of Oeuvres complètes, 54, 333-36). Weber's Kaspar, like Villiers's, is a proponent of the "fast" life of the profane, a life marked by wine, women and gambling. He has been rejected by the heroine, Agathe, and passed over as the probable successor to her father, the royal forester, in favour of the younger hunter, Max. Consequently, Kaspar plots revenge. He convinces Max that, if he uses magic bullets made at midnight in the forbidden Wolf's Glen with the help of the devil Samiel, Max can pass the shooting test that will win him both the succession and Agathe's hand. Unknown to Max, Kaspar has made a pact with Samiel that the seventh bullet is to kill Agathe. In the end, Agathe is saved from death by a combination of Max's basic innocence, her own goodness and purity, and a bridal crown made of white roses blessed by a holy hermit. With ironic justice, Max's seventh bullet which "belongs to the Evil One," kills Kaspar, whose soul is taken by Samiel (Libretto, Der Freischütz, by Carl Maria von Weber, poem by Johann Friedrich Kind, Eng. trans. William Mann, with Siegfried Vogel, Gundula Janowitz, Theo

Adam, Peter Schreier, cond. Carlos Kleiber, Staatskapelle Dresden, Deutsche Grammophon, Polydor International, c1973, 13). I am indebted to Alan G. Meech for bringing the plot of Der Freischütz to my attention.

⁴⁵ In The Lore of the New Testament (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966, c1952), Joseph Gaer relates some very interesting legends concerning the magi. See especially Chapter 6. In his notes Gaer refers to the tradition of the three magi:

King Melchior, the old man; King Caspar, the beardless youth; and King Balthasar, the swarthy man in the prime of life. Practically all fifteenth-century paintings portray the Magi as three in number, with the youngest invariably black. This is based upon the assumption that the Magi represented all ages and all races of mankind who shall ultimately come to accept Jesus. (Gaer, 332)

Gaer's sources include Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend or The Lives of the Saints, "as Englished by William Caxton," 7 vols. (London: Dent, 1800); and Bernhard Pick, The Extra-Canonical Life of Christ (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903). In Dogme et rituel, Lévi connects the magi and Christianity with the occult tradition:

L'étoile allégorique des mages n'est autre chose que le mystérieux pentagramme; et ces trois rois, enfants de Zoroastre, conduits par l'étoile flamboyante au berceau du Dieu microcosmique, suffiraient pour prouver les origines toutes cabalistiques et véritablement magiques du dogme chrétien. Un de ces rois est blanc, l'autre est noir, et le troisième est brun. Le blanc offre de l'or, symbole de vie et de lumière; le noir de la myrrhe, image de la mort et de la nuit; le brun présente l'encens, emblème de la divinité du dogme conciliateur des deux principes; puis ils retournent dans leur pays par un autre chemin, pour montrer qu'un culte nouveau n'est qu'une nouvelle route pour conduire l'humanité à la religion unique, celle du ternaire sacré et du rayonnant pentagramme, le seul catholicisme éternel. (II, 98)

⁴⁶ Since dragon and Mercurius the Urōboros are one in alchemy, when Axël declares himself to be the guardian-dragon, he allies himself with Janus/Mercurius and so moves a step closer to transmutation.

⁴⁷ "Consider, man, what you were before birth, and what you

will be right until the end. Once, indeed, you did not exist. Then, shaped of worthless stuff and nourished in your mother's womb with menstrual blood, a little membrane served as your tunic."

⁴⁸ Note also that Axël and Ukko wear eagle feathers in their hunting caps and that Ukko reports Axël has shot a vulture that was "perdu dans les nuées noires, dans le tonnerre, quand la balle du maître s'en est allée l'y surprendre" (Axël, 79).

⁴⁹ Cirlot, 68.

⁵⁰ Piobb, II, 364.

⁵¹ Ibid., 343.

⁵² Cirlot, 6.

⁵³ Piobb, II, 343.

⁵⁴ The link with Christian doctrine is strong in the alchemical tradition. Indeed, the lapis philosophorum or philosopher's stone, the source and means of alchemical transmutation, was associated with Christ. Jung writes of the connection between the two (see 345-431), pointing out that for alchemists like Petrus Bonus in the fourteenth century, "the philosophical [i.e. alchemical] opus seemed like a parallel and imitation -- perhaps even a continuation-- of the divine work of redemption" (Jung, 375). I quote further from Jung's discussion of "The Lapis-Christ Parallel" later in this chapter.

⁵⁵ Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens," 270. Alchemists viewed the role of intermediary or messiah as natural to the adept: "Sa mission consiste à aider ses frères durant les étapes pénibles de leur ascension forcée vers Dieu. Les Adeptes jouent donc le rôle de Messies" (Jollivet-Castelot, 135). Peter Bürgisser speaks of Axël as "le rédempteur de tous les hommes":

sa personne prend la valeur d'un Jésus-Christ de l'or et de l'amour, annonciateur d'un monde nouveau d'une humanité située désormais au-delà des contingences et des instincts de la nature. Axël rachète aux hommes leur divinité oubliée par sa propre divinisation. (Bürgisser, 69)

⁵⁶ In describing Axël's rejection of Janus's occult world,

Bürgisser uses an interesting image: "Axël va se hasarder dans les sphères ténébreuses des instincts humains, il va explorer l'enfer qu'il porte en lui pour en arracher les secrets en les réveillant" (59-60; emphasis mine). Again the parallel with Christianity is important: we should remember that Christian tradition and the Apostle's Creed state that after his death on the cross Christ "descended into hell" where he remained until his resurrection. Axël's descent into hell, appropriately, takes place in the burial vault beneath his castle where he is joined by Sara.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Axël, 38-39.

⁵⁸ See Axël, 38. In his notes on Axël, Bornecque points out that Villiers has completely reversed the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas, to whom he attributes this concept of a material soul. See Jacques-Henry Bornecque, Notes to Villiers, Oeuvres, ed. Bornecque, 1067. Drougard has discovered that Villiers did not take the reference directly from St. Thomas, but from a comment on him in A. Véra's Introduction à la philosophie de Hegel, (E. Drougard, "L'Erudition de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Mercur de France, série moderne, 225 [1 oct.-1 nov., 1929], 107, 110-11).

⁵⁹ Janus's rejection of Axël in the speech immediately following the renunciation is undercut by his pronouncement shortly after that "l'Oeuvre s'accomplit" (Axël, 213-14, 216).

⁶⁰ In "Axel, le Faust français," Le Lotus Bleu, 49, No. 11 (fév., 1939), Georges Méautis writes about the importance of Sara and Axël's renunciation of received wisdom in favour of self discovery and initiation (Méautis, "Axel," 349).

⁶¹ See above, note 32 to this chapter.

⁶² See Piobb, II, 378.

⁶³ Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 251. Note the parallels with Axël's speech on page 192. Drougard matches this passage from Lévi with Janus's speech on pages 206-07 ("Villiers . . . et Eliphas Lévi," 525). See also Lévi's description of the magus as "micro-prosope, c'est-à-dire la créature du petit monde. La première science magique étant la connaissance de soi-même, la première aussi de toutes les oeuvres de la science, celle qui renferme toutes les autres et qui est le principe du grande oeuvre, c'est la création de soi-même" (Dogme et rituel, I, 110).

⁶⁴ Ibid., II, 27.

⁶⁵ Ibid., I, 254.

⁶⁶ Bürgisser notes that Janus "incorpore le destin, la nécessité, la force qui contraint les deux jeunes héros à s'accomplir de façon éclatante par la mort" (Bürgisser, 68).

⁶⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 46. In their Notes to the first edition of A Vision, George Mills Harper and Walter Kelly Hood point out that one of the recurrent themes in the 1925 version of Yeats's book is the opposition of fate and destiny. As the terms are defined by Yeats, this opposition means essentially an opposition between fate and freedom, since, "whereas the Fated is required by forces external to the self, Destiny is an expression of choice by the self" (George Mills Harper and Walter Kelly Hood, eds., Notes, A Critical Edition of Yeats's A Vision [1925][London: Macmillan, 1978], 11). The critical edition by Harper and Hood is a facsimile of William Butler Yeats, A Vision: An Explanation of Life Founded Upon the Writing of Geraldus and Upon Certain Doctrines Attributed to Kusta Ben Luka (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1925), hereafter cited as A Vision (1925). The only differences between the original text and the Harper and Hood reproduction "consist of the use of less expensive paper and binding, of the introduction of lineation, of the substitution of ordinary for brown paper for the woodcuts (facing the title page and pages xv and 8) and of the use of black rather than red ink for the upper cone and its annotations in the diagram of the historical cones (177)" (Preface, vii). On fate and destiny in A Vision (1925), see, for example, pages 15, 44-45.

⁶⁹ Jung writes of the journey (see especially 368ff). He specifically mentions the peregrinations of Osiris, Herakles, Enoch, Hermes Trismegistus, Michael Maier, and of the Argonauts while on their quest for the Golden Fleece. Among the many works in which the journey motif is intimately linked with transformation are Homer's Odyssey, Apuleius's Golden Ass, Dante's Divine Comedy, Swift's Gulliver's Travels, Goethe's Faust, Heine's Dieux en Exil and Atta Troll, Rimbaud's Le Bateau ivre, Strindberg's To Damascus, Gide's Voyage d'Urien, Yeats's Stories of Red Hanrahan, Wanderings of Oisín, The Shadowy Waters, and Rosa Alchemica.

⁷⁰ Piobb, I, 35. Compare the images of the hunt that recur in Yeats's work. See, for example, the hound and hornless deer and the

young man and the woman with the golden apple discussed in my Chapter Two (108-09, 201-02).

⁷¹ Cirlot, 65; based on Diccionario universal de la mitología (Barcelona, 1835).

⁷² Ibid., 265; based on Paul Diel, Le Symbolisme dans la mythologie grecque (Paris: 1952).

⁷³ The guisarme has a sharp curved blade and a hook or beak at the back. It is an interesting coincidence that when Axël first appears in the play, he wears an axe in his belt (Axël, 114).

⁷⁴ Notice the important roles played by the old retainers in Axël: Herr Zacharias, Gotthold, Miklaus, and Hartwig.

⁷⁵ Cirlot, 265.

⁷⁶ Piobb, II, 364.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 346.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 347-48.

⁷⁹ In his manuscript notes for the lecture on Axël, Villiers described Janus as "une sorte d'austère précepteur, ou, plutôt d'initiateur magique" (quoted in Gustave Guiches, "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: documents inédits," La Nouvelle Revue, 64, No. 1 (1 mar, 1890), 119.

⁸⁰ Jacques Guicharnaud, Afterword, Axël, trans. June Guicharnaud (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, c1970), 196.

⁸¹ Piobb, II, 346.

⁸² Ibid., 350.

⁸³ Sara and Axël actually call each other brother and sister. See Axël, 239, 240, 244.

⁸⁴ Piobb, II, 350.

⁸⁵ In the Emerald Table, Hermes speaks of ascent followed by descent and then the union of opposites: "Il monte de la Terre au Ciel, et de rechef il descend du Ciel en Terre, et il reçoit la Force des Choses d'En Haut et d'En Bas" (in Jollivet-Castelot, 2).

⁸⁶ Piobb, II, 353.

⁸⁷ Auguste Strindberg, "Rosa Mystica," Rosa Alchemica, 11 (nov., 1902) 354-56. As in real-life gardens, in traditional symbolism the number of petals on the rose may vary. A different number changes the symbolism somewhat. Besides the five-petalled rose, the seven- and eight-petalled are quite common. Seven petals associate the rose with the multiple symbolism attached to this mystical/magical number, and eight petals, Cirlot reports, symbolize regeneration (Cirlot, 263, based on Ramiro de Pinedo, El Simbolismo en la escultura medieval española [Madrid, 1930]; see also Jung, *passim*). Strindberg's reference to the rose's desire for blood calls to mind the manuscript fragment mentioned earlier in which Sara revives her dying rose for one day by stabbing a young man (Axël, 280).

⁸⁸ M. Clavelle, "Les Rose-Croix et l'église intérieure," Le Voile d'Isis, 36, No. 137 (mai, 1931), 286-87.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁹⁰ Among the symbols of the Order of the Golden Dawn, to which Yeats belonged, was the Rose-Cross. Israel Regardie describes the Rose-Cross as "a Lamen or badge synthesizing a vast concourse of ideas, representing in a single emblem the Great Work itself--the harmonious reconciliation in one symbol of diverse and apparently contradictory concepts, the reconciliation of divinity and manhood" (Israel Regardie, The Golden Dawn, 3rd ed., rev., 4 vols. [River Falls, Wisc.: Hazel Hills, 1970], I, 93-94).

⁹¹ The first two emphases are Villiers's, the last two mine. Note Villiers's use of the verb "éclore." Although employed for the opening of flowers, its primary association is with the hatching of eggs; its use here suggests the rose is the parthenogenetic child of Sara's soul, her alchemical homunculus (which alchemists believe is hatched from the "philosopher's egg," the egg-shaped retort or flask which symbolizes the prima materia). Jung explains the symbolism of the egg:

In alchemy the egg stands for the chaos apprehended

by the artifex, the prima materia containing the captive world-soul. Out of the egg--symbolized by the round cooking-vessel--will rise the eagle or phoenix, the liberated soul, which is ultimately identical with the Anthropos who was imprisoned in the embrace of Physis" (Jung, 202; see also 66, 237-38).

From the Greek for origin, Physis is Nature in her role as the source of growth and development. Perhaps Sara's homunculus/rose dies because it is parthenogenetic and lacks the male component, for when it is hatched, Sol and Luna have not yet been united. There is an interesting parallel between the image of Sara's role and the passage in Part III, scene i, in which Janus urges Axël, "Echappe-toi, comme eux [les dieux], par la foi, dans l'Incréé. Accomplis-toi dans ta lumière astrale! Surgis! Moissonne! Monte! Deviens ta propre fleur! Tu n'es que ce que tu penses: pense-toi donc éternel" (Axël, 193).

⁹² See Lévi, Dogme et rituel, II, 295.

⁹³ Cirlot, 6.

⁹⁴ Jung, 295.

⁹⁵ Jung, 292. Sara releases the treasure from its hiding place by pushing with the point of her dagger between the eyes of the death's head on the Auërsperg shield (Axël, 229)-- a winged and silver death's head. Compare Mercury's traditional winged helmet. The caput mortuum or death's head is an alchemical symbol for the survival of life and thought. It is sometimes used as a receptacle in the alchemical process and is sometimes presented as that which remains after calcination. See Cirlot, 285; Jung, 401.

⁹⁶ Jung, 293. Drougard points out from manuscript fragments that originally Janus assumed an even larger role in Axël than he does in the published version of the play: he appeared on stage right from the beginning and reappeared at the end "pour approuver la conduite des personnages qu'il a lui-même mis en présence" (E. Drougard, "Fragments manuscrits d'Axël, Revue des Sciences Humaines, N.S., No. 77 (jan.-mar., 1955), 119.

⁹⁷ Piobb, II, 357.

98 The spiritual wedding of Axël and Sara is paralleled by the earthly betrothal of Ukko who, just moments before, is heard singing a love song off stage (see Axël, 269). The world of Ukko and his fiancée, Luisa, is the parallel and inverse correspondence of the world of Axël and Sara. Like Axël and Sara, Ukko and Luisa are predestined for each other (Axël, 83). They celebrate their betrothal (the beginning of their earthly life together) as Axël and Sara die (end their earthly life and begin their spiritual life together). Ukko and Luisa are to marry in the autumn (Axël, 84) whereas Axël and Sara conduct their mystic marriage in the spring. The relationship between Ukko and Luisa, as representatives of this earthly life, and Axël and Sara, as representatives of the spiritual life of transcendence, bears a striking resemblance to the relationship of inverse correspondence that Yeats insists exists between the human world and the divine world of faery. See my Chapters Two and Four, *passim*.

99 Lévi writes, "Raymond Lulle, un des grands et sublimes maîtres de la science [d'alchimie] a dit que pour faire de l'or il faut d'abord avoir de l'or. On ne fait rien de rien" (Dogme et rituel, II, 297).

100 "Penes nos unda Tagi" [Jeand'Espagnet], 31. D'Espagnet's Arcanum Hermeticum, first published in 1623 in Latin, is, according to Westcott, the most widely read and reprinted "alchymic tract" (Preface, 7).

101 Piobb, II, 359. Note the use of the familiar form of the second person, an indication of the collegial fraternity of the alchemists mentioned earlier.

102 The only other day in the liturgical year on which the Catholic Church does not celebrate mass is Good Friday.

103 In "The Symbolism of Poetry," Yeats writes of the twilight time that is "the moment of contemplation, the moment when we are both asleep and awake, which is the one moment of creation" (in Essays and Introductions, 159).

104 See Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens," 272-75.

105 Raitt, 138. See also 254, 260, where Raitt insists that Villiers's "illusionisme" and "idéisme intransigent" must lead to "un nihilisme intégral."

106 Matt. 10:39.

107 Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens," 277.

108 The question of irony presents still another problem, for it brings in an additional interpretation of the play. Drougard considers these last lines to be a minor flaw in the play, the timid expression of a tardy scruple attempting unsuccessfully to turn Axël from an anti-Christian into a Christian mystery. He sees the problem lines as the intrusion of the author in a last ditch effort to stand up for orthodoxy but unable in the balance to undo what the play itself really says (Drougard, "Le Vrai Sens," 278). It is possible, however, to interpret the problem lines straight, as Drougard does, but to read the entire play as ironic, as Villiers's joke on his audience, a grand put-on the true meaning of which only becomes clear in these last few lines. This is one of the difficulties encountered with an author who, like Villiers, relies heavily on irony: just how does the reader know when he is being ironic and when he is not? Without at this point opening up the Pandora's box that is the critical question of irony, I shall simply say that I do not favour this totally ironic interpretation of Axël. One perhaps naïve reason for rejecting this approach is that it assumes a use of irony so subtle as to become ultimately meaningless, for the point has been missed by almost everyone, including all of Villiers's contemporaries who, according to their biases, either praised or condemned Villiers for rebellion against established Christian and bourgeois beliefs. If Villiers was being ironic throughout Axël and having his audience on, the joke turned out to be on him.

109 Regardie, I, 35-36.

110 Ibid., 36-37.

111 Ibid., 38-39.

112 Cirlot, 77; based on Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism (London, 1912; rpt., 1951).

113 Jung, 79.

114 The Latin is: "Intelligite, filii sapientum, quod hic lapis preciosissimus clamat, . . . et lumen meum omne lumen superat ac mea bona omnibus bonis sunt sublimiora. . . . Ego gigno lumen, tenebrae autem naturae meae sunt" (Rosarium philosophorum, 239, quoted and trans. in Jung, 79, 79n).

115 Jung, Chapter 5, 345-431. For Lévi's approach to the Stone, see Dogme et rituel, I, 336-43. Lévi draws attention to the Biblical puns on "rock" and "Peter," and to the fact that Christ calls himself the "corner stone."

116 Jung, 427-28.

117 "All hail, Soul! The last one alone shall shine through," and "I hope to rise up again bejewelled on high." See Axël, 19-20, 227, 229. Mariel translates the Latin mottos respectively as "Courage! La seule dernière (étoile) flamboie de tous les feux," and "Gonflé de sève, j'espère ressusciter plus haut" (Mariel, 273).

118 Cirlot, 77; based on Ania Teillard, Il Simbolismo dei Sogni (Milan, 1951).

119 Compare Lévi's "La mort n'existe pas pour le sage" (Dogme et rituel, I, 346) and "Quand les hommes sauront vivre, ils ne mourront plus; ils se transformeront comme la chrysalide qui devient un papillon brillant" (ibid., II, 3). "L'homme," Lévi insists, "qui cherche et trouve une glorieuse mort a foi dans l'immortalité, et l'humanité tout entière y croit avec lui, car elle lui élève des autels ou des statues, en signe de vie immortelle" (ibid., I, 110-11). Villiers's play contains an interesting variation on the image of the statue. In the passage in which Axël protests the necessity for detachment he complains, "c'est acheter trop cher le néant: je suis homme; je ne veux pas devenir une statue de pierre." Janus replies, "l'univers ne se prosterne que devant les statues" (Axël, 192).

120 Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 113.

121 Drougard, "Fragments manuscrits," 117. See also Georges Méautis, "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Rythmes et Couleurs (jan.-fév., 1962); rpt. in Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien suivi d'un choix d'études (Neuchâtel: A la Baconnière, c1964), 119. See also, Bornecque, "Villiers . . . martyr," xc. Méautis cannot recollect whether Janus's phrase is "Les délivrés" or "Les élus."

122 "Axël, Villiers l'a écrit de sa main sur les épreuves, devait avoir cinq actes, et le dernier -- confidence capitale et inaperçue que fit H. le Roux -- devait s'appeler Le Monde astral" (Bornecque, "Villiers . . . martyr," lxxxvii, quoted in part in Mariel, 28).

123 Méautis, "Villiers," 119.

124 Jung, 482.

125 Ibid., 431. Compare Janus's words to Axël: "Délivre-toi. Sois ta propre victime! Consacre-toi sur les brasiers d'amour de la Science-auguste pour y mourir, en ascète, de la mort des phénix" (Axël, 200). Maier's discovery that the end result of his alchemical investigations was literature recalls the passage in Yeats's Introduction to A Vision in which he records that the "communicators," the sources of the automatic writing which form the base for A Vision "have come to give [him] metaphors for poetry" (A Vision, 8).

126 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, "Hamlet," in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 99-100.

127 A.W. Raitt points out that Villiers theorized relatively little on the subject of aesthetics. In fact, Raitt says,

ce qui le sépare le plus de Mallarmé c'est le fait que pour celui-ci la méditation sur l'esthétique était tout, alors que pour Villiers ce n'était rien. Partant tous deux d'une philosophie idéaliste, Mallarmé se lança tout de suite dans un développement esthétique très complexe, tandis que Villiers attachait la plus grande importance aux enquêtes d'ordre métaphysique et considérait l'esthétique comme sujet stérile et même trivial. (Raitt, 43)

Nevertheless, Villiers did write a number of articles expounding his views, including: "Philoméla, livre lyrique, par Catulle Mendès" (1863; rpt. in part as "A propos d'un livre," in Nouveaux Contes cruels et propos d'au-delà, nouvelle édition [Paris: Crès, 1923], 248-58); "Hamlet" (1867; rpt. in Chez les passants, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 99-105); "Peintures décoratives du foyer de l'Opéra" (1874; rpt. in Chez les passants, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 146-54); "Le Candidat, comédie en quatre actes, par Gustave Flaubert" (1874; rpt. in Chez les passants in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 140-45); "La Tentation de Saint-Antoine par Gustave Flaubert" (1874; rpt. in Chez les passants in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 155-59); "Souvenir" (1887; rpt. in Chez les passants, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 96-98).

Villiers's thoughts on aesthetics may be gleaned also from unpublished manuscript fragments gathered and printed after his death. In Reliques (Paris: Corti, 1954), for example, Pierre-Georges Castex has collected a number of fragments which include several that Castex groups together under the heading "Reflexions sur le Génie et la Noblesse" (30-58). The 1923 Crès edition of Nouveaux Contes cruels et propos d'au-delà also contains the fragments of criticism

"Sur une pièce d'Augier" (259-62). And, of course, readers can draw conclusions on Villiers's aesthetics from his creative works.

¹²⁸ Appendice, "Notes et projets," in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 270.

¹²⁹ "Peintures décoratives," 152, 153.

¹³⁰ Raitt, 52.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² "A propos d'un livre," 248; also quoted by Raitt, 52-53.

¹³³ "Hamlet," 100.

¹³⁴ "Souvenir," 98. Villiers attributes these words to Richard Wagner, but as Raitt points out it is clear that they express Villiers's own sentiments (Raitt, 52; see the last paragraph of "Souvenir").

¹³⁵ "A propos d'un livre," 249. Compare the magician's diamond sceptre and the philosopher's stone of the alchemist.

¹³⁶ Ibid.; see also "Peintures décoratives," 153.

¹³⁷ "A propos d'un livre," 256. The reference to Vaucanson, the famous eighteenth-century French creator of automata is an interesting one that should be kept in mind when we look at L'Eve future in my Chapter Three.

¹³⁸ "A propos d'un livre," 256, 254.

¹³⁹ Papus, XX.

¹⁴⁰ "A propos d'un livre," 254-55; emphasis mine.

¹⁴¹ "Peintures décoratives," 152.

¹⁴² Ibid., 153.

- 143 "Immortal man is the beautiful hymn of God."
- 144 "Souvenir," 97.
- 145 Ibid., 98.
- 146 Compare the description of faith in Villiers's Isis (Oeuvres complètes, IX, 42): "la foi n'est pas une conviction, mais un acte: l'acte de s'assimiler le plus d'évidences divines possible, chacun dans le moment et suivant la sphère où il se trouve."
- 147 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Appendice, "Autres Fragments," in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 274.
- 148 "Souvenir," 98.
- 149 Ibid.
- 150 Papyrus, xi.
- 151 "Peintures décoratives," 153.
- 152 "Souvenir," 98. A.G. Lehmann is struck by Rémy de Gourmont's use of the word "mosaïste" to describe symbolist poetry (The Symbolist Aesthetic in France 1885-1895, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Blackwell, 1968], 244).
- 153 Emerald Table, trans. by Jollivet-Castelot, 1; see also Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 116.
- 154 René Wellek, Discriminations: Further Concepts of Criticism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 113.
- 155 Charles Baudelaire, Les Fleurs du mal, in Oeuvres complètes, ed. J.-G. LeDantec, rev. Claude Pichois, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1961), 11; and "Notes nouvelles sur Edgar Poe," in Edgar Allan Poe, Nouvelles Histoires extraordinaires, trans., Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1965), 43-44. Symbolist documents on the doctrine of correspondence are included in Michaud, 719-42. For a discussion of Baudelaire's theory of correspondence and symbolism, see for example, Lehmann, 260-71, and Michaud, 67-78.

156 Eric O. Johannesson, The Novels of August Strindberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 206-07.

157 Raitt, 209.

158 "Peintures décoratives," 153. Listing the passages in which it occurs, Raitt says that Villiers uses the word "correspondance" only six times but seems to refer to the idea a bit more often (Raitt, 208-09). Although I have not conducted a thorough search for the word "correspondance" in Villiers's work, I have come across at least four more instances in which he uses it: it occurs as a noun in the passage from "Peintures décoratives" just quoted, and the extremely important passage on the rose quoted earlier from Axël (248), as well as in verbal and adjectival form in the following passages: "il [M. Bénédict d'Allepraine, poète] s'était, de très bonne heure--et ceci grâce à des instincts natals--détaché de bien des ambitions, de bien des désirs, et ne reconnaissait, pour méritant le titre de sérieux, que ce qui correspondait aux goûts sagement divins de son âme" ("L'Amour sublime," in Propos d'au-delà in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 28); "Les visions enivrantes, mélancoliques, orgueilleuses, semi-divines, se brodent sur le crépuscule des nuits orientales, évoquées aux regards parfois éperdus d'Antoine. Elles défilent, objectivées par son cerveau bouillonnant, et vitalisées par la substance correspondante dont dispose l'Enfer en éveil autour de lui." ("La Tentation," 156).

159 Raitt, 209.

160 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, "L'Avertissement," in Chez les passants, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 222, 224; "Le Tzar et les Grands-Ducs," in L'Amour suprême, in Oeuvres complètes, V, 195.

161 Axël actually asks Sara if the rose "t'inspirait" (249).

162 T.S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," in The Sacred Word: Essays on Poetry and Criticism (London: Methuen, 1920; rpt., 1960), 47-59.

163 Raitt, 209-11.

164 Lévi defines imagination and writes about its importance: "Ce qu'on appelle en nous l'imagination n'est que la propriété inhérente à notre âme de s'assimiler les images et les reflets contenus dans la lumière vivante," and

L'Intelligence et la volonté de l'homme sont des instruments d'une portée et d'une force incalculables.

Mais l'intelligence et la volonté ont pour auxiliaire et pour instrument une faculté trop peu connue et dont la toute puissance appartient exclusivement au domaine de la magie: je veux parler de l'imagination, que les cabalistes appellent le diaphane ou le translucide.

L'imagination, en effet, est comme l'oeil de l'âme, et c'est en elle que se dessinent et se conservent les formes, c'est par elle que nous voyons les reflets du monde invisible, elle est le miroir des visions et l'appareil de la vie magique: c'est par elle que nous guérissons les maladies, que nous influençons les saisons, que nous écartons la mort des vivants et que nous ressuscitons les morts, parce que c'est elle qui exalte la volonté et qui lui donne prise sur l'agent universel. (Dogme et rituel, I, 167, 117)

¹⁶⁵ Jung, 167, trans. from the Latin of the Rosarium philosophorum.

¹⁶⁶ Jung, 282-83.

¹⁶⁷ Compare Albertus Magnus's admonition in Libellus de alchimia:

I, therefore, the least of the Philosophers, purpose to write for my associates and friends the true art, clear and free from error; however, in such a way that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand. Therefore, I beg and I adjure you by the Creator of the world to hide this book from all the foolish. For to you I shall reveal the secret, but from the others I shall conceal the secret of secrets because of envy of this noble knowledge. Fools look down upon it because they cannot attain it; for this reason they consider it odious and believe it impossible; they are, therefore, envious of those who work in it and say that they are forgers. Beware, then of revealing to anyone our secrets in this work.

(From Libellus de alchimia ascribed to Albertus Magnus, trans. by Sister Virginia Heines, S.C.N., [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958]; rpt. in A Source Book in Medieval Science, ed. Edward Grant [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974], 588)

168 W.B. Yeats, "What is 'Popular Poetry'?" in Essays and Introductions, 6.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid., 8.

171 "Hamlet," 104.

172 Mallarmé, "Villiers," 492.

173 Rémy de Gourmont, "Notes sur Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Mercure de France (août, 1890), 259. See Raitt, 145-46, for further evidence of Villiers's belief in the power of words.

174 Victor-Emile Michelet, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Nos Maîtres (Paris: Librairie Hermétique, 1910), 50.

175 Compare Lévi: "Toute forme est le voile d'un verbe, parce que l'idée mère du verbe est l'unique raison d'être des formes. Toute figure est un caractère, tout caractère appartient et retourne à un verbe" (Dogme et rituel, I, 116).

176 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, "Les Filles de Milton," in Propos d'au-delà, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 51-52.

177 Drougard, "Villiers . . . et Eliphas Lévi," 530.

178 Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 2, 4-6. See also I, 103-04, 125; II, 197; and *passim*.

179 Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 116.

180 Writing about his poem Hérodiade in a letter to Villiers, Mallarmé describes the nature of poetry as he sees it: "En un mot, le sujet de mon oeuvre est la Beauté, et le sujet apparent n'est qu'un prétexte pour aller vers Elle. C'est, je crois, le mot sur la Poésie" (in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Correspondance générale, ed. Joseph Bollery, 2 vols. [Paris]: Mercure de France, 1942), I, 81. Villiers must have agreed completely.

181 "Les Filles de Milton," 50. There are many striking similarities between the veil and the rose. Both simultaneously represent the two opposing worlds of the senses and of the ideal. As with the veil, the object, the surface reality of the rose serves to evoke the ideal, the transcendent reality, and although the physical aspect of Sara's rose does not endure (the rose dies), its meaning, the impression it creates, its symbolic and artistic power lives on.

182 Compare the passage in a letter to Mallarmé in which Villiers describes his own struggles with the intractability of language.

je ne puis m'exprimer que par gloussements informes
qui n'ont aucun rapport avec les nuits idéales sans
bornes et créées que j'ai l'honneur de porter dans
le coeur de mon coeur, je suis obligé de suer comme
un nègre pour dire un iota de plus, par conscience,
dans mes misérables phrases. (Correspondance, I, 99)

183 "Hamlet," 99. Compare Mallarmé's famous description of how poetry should work:

Nommer un objet, c'est supprimer les trois quarts
de la jouissance du poème qui est faite de deviner
peu à peu: le suggérer, voilà le rêve. C'est le
parfait usage de ce mystère qui constitue le symbole:
évoquer petit à petit un objet pour montrer un état
d'âme; ou, inversement, choisir un objet et en dégager
un état d'âme, par une série de déchiffrements.

("Réponses à des enquêtes sur l'évolution littéraire," in Oeuvres complètes, 869.) Alchemists and other occultists stress the importance of silence. See, for example, Albertus Magnus's insistence that "The first precept is that the worker in this art must be silent and secretive and reveal his secret to no one, knowing full well that if many know, the secret in no way will be kept, and that when it is divulged, it will be repeated with error. Thus it will be lost, and the work will remain imperfect" (Grant, 590). Jollivet-Castelot also writes about the necessity for silence (91), as does Lévi: "SAVOIR, OSER, VOULOIR, SE TAIRE, voilà les quatre verbes du mage qui sont écrits dans les quatre formes symboliques du sphinx" (Dogme et rituel, I, 109).

184 Bürgisser, 44.

185 Ibid., 29-30. Bürgisser describes Villiers's aesthetic at some length (see 27-34).

186 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, "L'Elu des rêves," in Propos d'au-delà, in Oeuvres complètes, XI, 10.

187 Ibid., 12.

188 Bürgisser, 51.

189 Appendice, "Autres Fragments," Oeuvres complètes, XI, 274.

190 Edmund Wilson, Axel's Castle: A Study in the Imaginative Literature of 1870-1930 (New York: Scribner's, c1931, 1959), 264. Wilson specifically mentions Pater's Marius, Laforgue's Lohengrin and Salomé, Mallarmé's Hamlet (in "Igitur") and Huysmans's Des Esseintes.

191 Peter Brooks, "The Rest is Silence: Hamlet as Decadent," Jules Laforgue: Essays on a Poet's Life and Work, ed. Warren Ramsey (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, c1969), 97. The Mallarmé sonnet begins "Mes bouquins refermés sur le nom de Paphos," (Oeuvres complètes, 76). Villiers had a strong interest in Hamlet, as his article on him suggests. He also associated him with Axël. In the manuscript draft for his lecture on Axël he comments that his play was not designed for the stage:

C'est assez vous dire que le drame d'Axël n'est nullement écrit pour la scène et que la seule idée de sa représentation semble, à l'auteur lui-même, à peu près inadmissible.

Il ne saurait offrir, en réalité, qu'un intérêt de lecture,--et à ceux-là seuls encore qui, malgré l'immense convenu de la mode, ne considèrent pas uniquement comme une longueur le monologue célèbre de Hamlet, "Etre ou n'être pas."

(From holograph facsimile, Appendice, Oeuvres, ed. Bornecque.) The reference to Hamlet obviously pleased Villiers, for he repeated it in a comment in the Second Part of Axël when it appeared in La Jeune France (December 1, 1885). After a stage direction he wrote:

Est-il nécessaire de dire, ici, que cet ouvrage, malgré la forme dialoguée et les termes scéniques, n'a jamais été conçu ni écrit pour le théâtre, pour un théâtre ou le "monologue," de Hamlet: "Etre ou n'être pas," n'est plus qu'une "longueur"? Axel est une sorte de poème dramatique, rien de plus." (Quoted in E. Drougard, "L'Axël," 530n.)

- 192 Wilson, 265-66.
- 193 Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, "Génie, héroïsme, noblesse," Reliques, 50.
- 194 "Hamlet," 99.
- 195 "A propos d'un livre," 255-56.
- 196 Ibid., 255n.
- 197 Raitt, 51.
- 198 Jean-Paul Gourevitch, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam ou l'univers de la transgression, Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui, 35 (Paris: Seghers, c1971), 54-55.
- 199 Stéphane Mallarmé, "Le Livre, instrument spirituel," in Oeuvres complètes, 378.
- 200 "Génie, héroïsme, noblesse," 50.
- 201 See Lehmann, 229-47 et passim.
- 202 Ibid., 229.
- 203 Raitt, 127-29. Villiers held long discussions with Georges about the question of music in Axël but at Villiers's death the details had not been settled. For the 1894 production, Georges composed the music without any of Villiers's themes (see Raitt, 129).
- 204 Rodolphe Palgen, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: auteur dramatique (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925), 61-62. I disagree with Palgen's judgment that Villiers was unconscious of what he was doing.
- 205 There is an unresolved conflict between the desire for a secret art for an elite and this social role of art. See Lehmann, 237-41, for a discussion of this problem in symbolist art. In the work of Villiers and Yeats there is an intimate link between the elite and the peasant or servant class. The artists, drawing their strength from roots sunk in the ground of the folk, aim at transfor-

ming society. The problem is that the positivist bourgeoisie defies reform: Kaspar, like Yeats's Paudeen, has his hand in the greasy till. See Yeats's description of the establishment by "the counting-house" of "a new class and a new art without breeding and without ancestry." This class and its art have come "between the hut and the castle, and between the hut and the cloister" ("What is 'Popular Poetry'?" 10-11).

206 Bürgisser, 34. I have substituted the more general "Idéale" for the "Dieu" of the original.

207 Lehmann, 229.

208 Ibid.

209 Stéphane Mallarmé, "Autobiographie," in Oeuvres complètes 662-63; emphasis mine. Quoted in part in Lehmann, 246n, and in Michaud, 757.

210 Lehmann, 230.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹ Preface to Axël, 7.

² "The Symbolism of Poetry," 162.

³ Rose, 253.

⁴ Richard J. Finneran, The Prose Fiction of W.B. Yeats: The Search for "Those Simple Forms," New Yeats Papers, 4 (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1973), 23 et passim.

⁵ See, for example, "Regina, Regina Pigmeorum, Veni" in The Celtic Twilight, in Mythologies (London: Macmillan, 1959). Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from The Celtic Twilight are from this edition. In "Yeats's Revisions in The Celtic Twilight, 1912-1925," Tulane Studies in English, 20 (1972), Richard J. Finneran concludes that the text in Mythologies is the definitive one (98-99).

⁶ Yeats still thought enough of The Island of Statues in 1889 to reprint the third scene of Act II in The Wanderings of Oisín, but aside from individual lyrics excerpted from the play, he never again republished it and chose to exclude it from both his Collected Poems and Collected Plays.

⁷ Letters, 87.

⁸ With R.P. Blackmur I would point out that, "Dialectic has nothing to do with Hegel. By dialectic is meant: the reasonable conversation of the mind which has an eye to truth in ideas." ("The Lion and the Honeycomb," in The Lion and the Honeycomb: Essays in Solicitude and Critique [New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, c1955], 177).

⁹ A Vision, 271.

¹⁰ Sister M. Bernetta Quinn, The Metamorphic Tradition in Modern Poetry (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 207.

Sister Bernetta devotes the final chapter of her work to metamorphosis in Yeats's writings. She provides a good introduction to the topic, covering much of the same ground as I do. The scope and emphases of our studies are different, however. Although I refer to Sister Bernetta's work a number of times, I do not document all our points of concurrence, nor all instances when we draw on the same Yeats material.

¹¹ The Christian setting is established by references to the ancient god Pan now gone, to the "new god" who has replaced him and to St. Joseph's image. See W.B. Yeats The Island of Statues: An Arcadian Faery Tale -- in Two Acts, in The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W.B. Yeats, ed. Russell K. Alspach, assisted by Catherine C. Alspach (London: Macmillan, 1966), 1236, 1255, 1257. Hereafter, the variorum edition of Yeats's plays is cited as Plays.

¹² W.B. Yeats, The Celtic Twilight (London: A.H. Bullen, 1912), 14. This is the original (1893) edition, reprinted with additions, 1902 and 1912. It is the last edition in which this and a number of other passages containing strongly "Celtic" elements appear (see Finneran, "Yeats's Revisions," 99).

¹³ Compare Axël, whom Kaspar calls "le Chasseur Noir!" (Axël, 115). He is presented to the audience and announced with hunting horns before he arrives on stage in hunting gear. See, for example, Axël, 62, 71, 72, 113, 114.

¹⁴ Enid Starkie, From Gautier to Eliot: The Influence of France on English Literature 1851-1939 (London: Hutchinson University Library, c1960), 89, 122. The spelling of Tír-na-n-Og, like that of all Gaelic words, varies greatly when transliterated into English. Villiers was a Breton. Although Yeats's only real claim to Celtic blood was, possibly, through his grandfather Pollexfen who "belonged to some younger branch of an old Cornish family" (Autobiographies, 9), he nonetheless considered himself a Celt. See, for example, "The Irish National Literary Society," published originally in The Boston Pilot, Nov. 19, 1892, and reprinted in Letters to the New Island, ed. Horace Reynolds (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934), 153-59: "Your Celt" is Yeats himself. The Celtic influence on Yeats is obvious; in Villiers it is a more subtle but nonetheless pervasive undercurrent which surfaces on occasion in works like "L'Intersigne," set in part in a small Breton village. John Charpentier sees Villiers as "l'expression même de la renaissance de l'âme celtique" (Le Symbolisme, 82, quoted in Pauly, 25). Goldgar attributes not only Villiers's philosophic idealism and artistic romanticism at least in part to his Breton origins, but also "son attachement à l'Eglise et au Roi, sa fidélité aux traditions et à sa race,

son orgueil d'aristocrate, son attrait pour toute idée noble." (Goldgar, Deux Dramaturges, 197). See also Théophile Briant, "L'Inspiration bretonne dans l'oeuvre de Villiers de l'Isle Adam [sic]," Bretagne, 17^e année, no. 163 (août, 1938), 240-46.

¹⁵ Rose, 253. Yeats's early adulthood was marked by a romantic withdrawal from public life. After meeting Maud Gonne in 1889, however, he became active in politics and various national affairs; then as the relationship with the very public Miss Gonne soured, Yeats participated less and less in politics. Later there was a fourth stage in his public involvement as he came to realize that withdrawal was for him neither desirable nor possible: "A sixty-year-old smiling public man" (Poems, 443), he found himself once more in his life and poetry actively engaged in politics.

¹⁶ W.B. Yeats, ed., Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry (London: Walter Scott, 1888); rpt. in W.B. Yeats, ed., Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland (Gerrards Cross, Bucks.: Colin Smythe, 1973), 11. In other works, Yeats usually uses the variant spelling Tuatha De Danaan. See, for example, Appendix I, Notes to Poems, 796.

¹⁷ Michael J. Sidnell, George P. Mayhew, David R. Clark, eds., Druid Craft: The Writing of The Shadowy Waters, Manuscripts of W.B. Yeats, Vol. 1, ed. David R. Clark (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 35.

¹⁸ Ibid. In The Celtic Realms (New York: New American Library, c1967), Myles Dillon and Nora K. Chadwick divide the ancient Irish gods into three main groups: the older Celtic gods imported from Gaul; the native Irish chthonic gods who dwell in the burial mounds; and the gods of re-birth associated primarily with the sea. By the time the stories about the gods were written down by the Christian monks, the gods were regarded as beings of the far past. All three groups were mixed together under the same epithet: the Tuatha De Danaan (Dillon and Chadwick, 143, 146). This long-standing blurring of boundaries between categories of divinities is reflected in Yeats's work where matters are further complicated by his habit of combining the old written tradition on the gods with more recent popular or folk tradition. In thus combining the two traditions, Yeats was simply continuing what Diane Elizabeth Bessai describes as "a characteristically Irish creative habit of mind: the making of a new synthesis out of traditional material" ("Sovereignty of Erin: A Study of Mythological Motif in the Irish Literary Revival," Diss. University of London 1971, 12). As Yeats himself remarks in the 1912 edition of The Celtic Twilight, "Legend mixes everything together in her cauldron" (117n).

¹⁹ Fairy and Folk Tales, 12. In a note to "Regina, Regina Pigmeorum, Veni" Yeats elaborates: "The people and faeries in Ireland are sometimes as big as we are, sometimes bigger, and sometimes, as I have been told, about three feet high. The old Mayo woman I so often quote thinks that it is something in our eyes that makes them seem big or little" (The Celtic Twilight, 55n; emphasis mine).

²⁰ See, for example, "The Tribes of Danu," The New Review (Nov. 1897); rpt. Uncollected Prose, II, 57-58.

²¹ In his Preface to Lady Gregory's Gods and Fighting Men, Yeats notes that "These [Celtic] gods are indeed more wise and beautiful than men; but men, when they are great men, are stronger than they are, for men are, as it were, the foaming tide-line of their sea" (Preface to Gods and Fighting Men, arranged by Lady Gregory [London: John Murray, 1904]; rpt. in Explorations, 23).

²² See The Celtic Twilight and Fairy and Folk Tales, passim. In the latter volume, see especially Yeats's notes and the "Classification of Irish Fairies," in Irish Fairy Tales, 383-87. Irish Fairy Tales, ed. W.B. Yeats was originally published by Unwin, 1892.

²³ The Celtic Twilight, 78.

²⁴ Ibid., 37.

²⁵ This failure of the new god to protect Naschina is an ironic reversal of the earlier failure of the old gods to accept and protect Almintor. He appeals to Pan to guide his choice of flowers and asks

If I speak low,
And not clear, how will the new god know
But that I called on him?

Apparently the new god's hearing was better than Almintor thought.

²⁶ The Celtic Twilight, 70.

²⁷ It would seem that on occasion and under certain circumstances, faery immortality may be cast off even before the Last Judgment. Thus Yeats reports that "Blake saw a fairy's funeral" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 12), and in "The Priest and the Fairy," he writes that a fairy was buried late in a hazel dell" (Poems, 729); thus the enchantress of the Island of Statues "Faded and vanished" (Plays, 1255); thus, too, Clooth-na-Bare, a once mortal woman who tired of her faery life,

drowned herself in "the deepest water in the world in little Lough Ia" (The Celtic Twilight, 79; Appendix I, Notes to Poems, 801).

"The Untiring Ones," in The Celtic Twilight, records the story of a mortal child chosen to be the wife of a faery prince and given the immortality of faery life as long as a log taken from her mother's fire remained unconsumed. She outlived seven faery husbands, each of whom lived seven hundred years. Finally the parish priest, concerned that she had become a scandal because of her many husbands, released the woman from her immortality by finding the log and burning it: "she died, and was buried like a Christian, and everybody was pleased" (The Celtic Twilight, 78-79).

²⁸ See Fairy and Folk Tales, 179.

²⁹ Dillon and Chadwick, 150. Dillon and Chadwick enthrone the ancient sea god Manannán mac Lir as king of Tír-na-n-Og (150). Yeats replaces him with the younger god of love, Aengus, although Manannán's presence is still felt on The Island of Victories in Part II of "The Wanderings of Oisín." See Poems, 16, var. 1.217; 38.

³⁰ Compare Axël and L'Eve future. The final transformation that transports Sara and Axël to the Ideal takes place in the Auërsperg family crypt beneath the castle. In L'Eve future, the domain of Hadaly, representative of the Ideal, is located in subterranean Indian burial vaults beneath Edison's laboratory. The "antiques obituaires" have been transformed by Edison into "L'Eden Sous Terre": "c'est un peu le royaume de la féerie." (See L'Eve, 176, 179ff.) In A Vision, Yeats discusses the symbolism of the cavern which is related to that of the underground burial place. It is, he says, "identified in the Hermetic Fragments with the Heavens" which in turn "were the orbit of the stars and planets, the source of all calendars, the symbol of the soul's birth and rebirth" (A Vision, 259; emphasis mine).

³¹ W.B. Yeats, "The Celtic Element in Literature," in Ideas of Good and Evil (London: Bullen, 1903); rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 173.

³² *Ibid.*, 178.

³³ *Ibid.*, 173. Allen R. Grossman observes that "an acknowledged mark of Celticism in contrast to the earlier Romantic movement was its claim to ultimate primitiveness" (Poetic Knowledge in the Early Yeats [Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1969], 51). Yeats surmised that what he had as a young man regarded, like Renan and Arnold, as the "Celtic element" in literature and life was something common to all "the ancient peoples of the world"

(The Celtic Twilight, 1912, 13n). "The Celtic Element in Literature" examines just this hypothesis. In the 1902 and 1912 editions of The Celtic Twilight, commenting on a sentence concerning the "inmost voice of Celtic sadness," Yeats remarked "I wrote this sentence long ago. This sadness now seems to me a part of all peoples who preserve the moods of the ancient peoples of the world. I am not so pre-occupied with the mystery of Race as I used to be, but leave this sentence and other sentences like it unchanged. We once believed them, and have, it may be, not grown wiser" (The Celtic Twilight, 1912, 13n). Later, both the footnote and the sentence it referred to were removed as, after the 1912 edition, Yeats revised out of the work much of what Richard J. Finneran describes as "the heavily 'Celtic' nature of the earlier editions" ("Yeats's Revisions," 99). It is interesting to note in the present context that Yeats associated the Celtic movement with the symbolist movement. He closed his essay on "The Celtic Element in Literature" with a description of the artistic climate at the end of the nineteenth century. The "imagination of the world" was ripe, Yeats tells us, "for a new intoxication":

The reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century has mingled with a reaction against the materialism of the nineteenth century, and the symbolical movement, which has come to perfection in Germany in Wagner, in England in the Pre-Raphaelites, in France in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, and Mallarmé, and in Belgium in Maeterlinck, and has stirred the imagination of Ibsen and D'Annunzio, is certainly the only movement that is saying new things. The arts by brooding upon their own intensity have become religious, and are seeking, as I think Verhaeren has said, to create a sacred book. (187)

³⁴ "The Celtic Element in Literature," 178.

³⁵ See J[ohn] A[rnott] MacCulloch, "Metamorphosis," Hastings, VIII, 593. Yeats knew and used the Hastings Encyclopaedia, which he purchased with his Nobel Prize money (see Harper and Hood, Notes, 36).

³⁶ "The Celtic Element in Literature," 174.

³⁷ Ibid., 173. Yeats is quoting Renan.

³⁸ "Gods and Fighting Men," 24.

³⁹ "The Celtic Element in Literature," 178. Compare the underlying alchemical transformation in Axël.

⁴⁰ Fairy and Folk Tales, 11. Compare Yeats's description of the Pooka who is "essentially an animal spirit," and "has many shapes," since, "Like all spirits, he is only half in the world of form" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 87).

⁴¹ Ibid., 287. The queen of the faeries who appears to Yeats and his friends in "Regina, Regina Pigmeorum, Veni," when asked if any of the faeries are "ever born into mortal life" replies yes and that Yeats himself knows some "who were among [her] people before birth" (The Celtic Twilight, 56).

⁴² Sister M. Bernetta Quinn points not only to pagan Celtic myth, but also theosophy and the eastern influence of Brahmin Mohini Chatterji as sources for Yeats's theme of transmigration. See Quinn, 227-28, and Grossman, 135-36. Yeats himself acknowledges Chatterji's influence in the poem "Mohini Chatterjee," (Poems, 495-96). Kathleen Raine attributes Yeats's inability to accept the christian church, despite his "deeply religious" nature, to his belief in rebirth:

from the theosophy and the Cabbalistic studies of the Order of the Golden Dawn, from Plato and Plotinus and "out of a medium's mouth", from the Noh plays of Japan and the Tibetan Book of the Dead, to the Vedas, Yeats gathered all the knowledge he could of the soul's history, of that hidden phase of our single human experience which follows death and precedes birth.

(Kathleen Raine, Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death: "Cuchulain Comforted" And "News for the Delphic Oracle," New Yeats Papers, 8 [Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1974], 13.) Yeats's interest in re-incarnation in the early period of his career anticipates the theory of personal and historical cycles propounded later in A Vision. In "Under Ben Bulbin," his "own last poetic declaration of faith" (Raine, Death-in-Life, 14), Yeats warns us that he will be back:

Many times man lives and dies
Between his two eternities,
That of race and that of soul,
And ancient Ireland knew it all.
(Poems, 637; quoted in Raine, Death-in-Life, 14)

⁴³ Compare Ibsen's Peer Gynt. The Button Moulder informs Peer that his soul must go into the casting-ladle to be melted down with other souls, then re-cast:

you were meant to be a shining button
On the waistcoat of the world. But your loop broke.
So you must be thrown into the rubbish bin,
And go from there back into the great pool.

(Henrik Ibsen, Peer Gynt, trans. Michael Meyer [Garden City, N.J.: Anchor-Doubleday, n.d.], 140; I have omitted the brackets in the text that indicate cuts made for the 1962 production of the play at the Old Vic.)

⁴⁴ Sister M. Bernetta Quinn says the faery man is "probably Aengus" (Quinn, 210); this is an understandable mistake given the state of Edain's marital relationships. In the 1906 version of The Shadowy Waters Yeats includes a passage which seems to support Quinn's reading of the faery man as Aengus:

Twas Aengus and Edain, the wandering lovers,
To whom all lovers pray. . . .
My mother told me that there is not one
Of the Ever-living half so dangerous
As that wild Aengus. Long before her day
He carried Edain off from a king's house,
And hid her among fruits of jewel-stone
And in a tower of glass. (Poems, 224)

When, however, this passage is taken in conjunction with "The Harp of Aengus," the poem that serves as epilogue to the play, it appears that the "king" from whom Aengus took Edain "long before her day" was the faery king, Midhir, not the mortal king Eochaid, as Sister Bernetta's reading would require.

⁴⁵ Dillon and Chadwick, 150.

⁴⁶ W.B. Yeats, "The Broken Gates of Death," Fortnightly Review (April, 1898); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, II, 107.

⁴⁷ Dillon and Chadwick, 149-50.

⁴⁸ Yeats confessed, "I am orthodox and pray for a resurrection of the body" (Discoveries, in Essays and Introductions, 297).

⁴⁹ Fairy and Folk Tales, 60.

⁵⁰ W.B. Yeats, Dhoya, in John Sherman and Dhoya, ed. Richard J. Finneran (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), 121.

⁵¹ The Celtic Twilight, 114.

⁵² Yeats considered the Druids to be so closely associated with the ancient Irish gods that he often used "Druid" as synonymous with "faery." See, for example, "To Ireland in the Coming Times": "Ah,

faeries, dancing under the moon,/A Druid land, a Druid tune!"
(Poems, 139).

53 The Celtic Twilight, 7.

54 Like much that is connected with metamorphosis, fire plays multiple and what often appear to be contradictory roles. The "noblest of the elements" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 191) because it "burns up everything, and where there is nothing, there is God" (The Secret Rose, in Mythologies, 185), fire is associated with apparitions of the faery folk ("The Tribes of Danu," 59-60) and is, according to Grossman, "an attribute of the sidhe in its masculine form" (Grossman, 108). Yet, as Sister M. Bernetta Quinn points out, fire is also the element used by the peasants to ward off the faeries (see Quinn, 208). According to Giraldus Cambrensis, fire is "the greatest of enemies to every sort of phantom" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 191). Some aspects of the symbolism of fire will be discussed later in this chapter. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from The Secret Rose are from Mythologies.

55 See Poems, 800. In the same note, Yeats also states that the epithet "Sidhe" derives "from Aes Sidhe or Sluagh Sidhe, the people of the Faery Hills" or síd-mounds referred to by Dillon and Chadwick: the barrows of the dead.

56 Regardie, I, 27. Regardie discusses the Qabalistic Tree of Life and its ten Sephiroth in Vol. I, 23-30. See also Raine, Tarot, passim.

57 Grossman, 54.

58 Grossman, 54-55, quoting Three Books of Occult Philosophy, ed. Whitehead (1898), Book I, Chapter VI, 44. Compare the alchemist's "humide radicale" which unites sol and luna, the masculine and feminine principles (see my Chapter One, 20. Grossman devotes Chapter III to wind (and reed) symbolism in The Wind Among the Reeds (Grossman, 43-62).

59 Grossman, 89.

60 Grossman, 119. The poem in The Wind Among the Reeds entitled "Michael Robartes asks Forgiveness because of his Many Moods" was originally published as "The Twilight of Forgiveness" (1895). From 1906 on, it appears as "The Lover asks Forgiveness because of his Many Moods."

61 Quinn, 5.

62 "The Autumn of the Body," 192.

63 "The Symbolism of Poetry," 162.

64 "The Autumn of the Body," 192-93.

65 Quinn, 223.

66 See Richard Ellmann, The Identity of Yeats, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 70. See also The Shadowy Waters, in Poems, 747, 754. Forgael "has a silver lily embroidered over his breast" and Dectora has a rose on hers. Robert M. Schuler looks at this poem from the point of view of alchemical symbolism and comes to quite different conclusions, especially regarding the second stanza: "the speaker wishes to avoid thinking of the alchemist's ideal because he does not wish to submit himself to the necessary destruction." See Robert M. Schuler, "W.B. Yeats: Artist or Alchemist?" Review of English Studies, N.S., 22, No. 85 (1971), 44-45.

67 Cirlot, 27.

68 The Celtic Twilight, 115. See also "Baile and Aillinn," Poems, 188, var. footnote to title.

69 The Celtic Twilight, 1912, 61. On the Fomoroh, see Appendix I, Notes to Poems, 795; "The Tribes of Danu," 58, 58n.

70 "The Autumn of the Body," 189, 192. Yeats felt "a time of scientific and political thought" had brought this externality to literature.

71 Letters, 402.

72 Ibid., 88.

73 See "The Autumn of the Body."

74 Ibid., 189, 190.

75 W.B. Yeats, "Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places," in Explorations, 37. See Axël, 36. This quotation was a favourite

of Yeats; the phrase or a modification of it recurs throughout Yeats's work, including in Per Amica Silentia Lunae, 347; A Vision, 139; The Resurrection, in Plays, 919; and Appendix I, Notes to Poems, 824.

76 See also The Celtic Twilight, 116. In Yeats and Magic: The Earlier Works, Irish Literary Studies, 2 (Gerrards Cross, Bucks.: Colin Smythe, 1977), Mary Catherine Flannery gives credit to Madame Blavatsky's Isis Unveiled as the first written statement of correspondences encountered by Yeats.

77 A Vision, 197.

78 In a footnote to the action of the gyres, Yeats refers to the passage in The Hour-Glass. See A Vision, 210.

79 Drawing on Louis Herbert Gray, The Mythology of All Races, Vol. III (New York: Marshall Jones, 1918), 169, Sister M. Bernetta Quinn notes that Bran, Sceolan and Lomair are Oisín's cousins, who have been transformed into hounds (Quinn, 215).

80 See Appendix I, Notes to Poems, 794; and The Celtic Twilight, 115.

81 Quinn, 209.

82 These images from "The Wanderings of Oisín" recur, for example, in "He mourns for the change that has come upon him and his Beloved, and longs for the End of the World" (Poems, 153) and in The Shadowy Waters (Poems, 764). Sister M. Bernetta Quinn cites the "metamorphic pursuit," illustrated by such images as the hound and deer as "an example of the Grecian-urn theme: love as frustration, yet never--in contrast to love as it exists outside art--as satiety" (Quinn, 218). She hints in this passage that the image is not a totally positive one, that quenchless desire, simply because it is denied fulfilment, may end in frustration; this in turn may lead to the longing for death and the final destruction of the universe pictured in "He mourns for the change. . . ." See Quinn, 218.

83 See "When You are Old," with its very non-Ronsardian line, "But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you" (Poems, 121).

84 See Plays, 1247. Compare the death associated with Sara and her rose: in one manuscript fragment of Axël, Sara describes how she killed "je ne sais quel jeune seigneur" in the woods and brought her dying rose back to life with his blood (Axël, 280).

85 In the Epilogue to Per Amica Silentia Lunae Yeats tells Iseult Gonne ("Dear Maurice") that when he saw Axël staged in 1894, he waited with impatience for the moment when he would hear these words (368). Yeats was so struck by the phrase that he used it almost like a motto for a time and "in cheerful youth" inscribed it when autographing his books (see W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge Moore: Their Correspondence 1901-1937, ed. Ursula Bridge [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953], 132; hereafter cited as Bridge). The phrase serves as epigraph to The Secret Rose (144) and also occurs in Autobiographies (305) and Discoveries (296).

86 "A Symbolical Drama in Paris," 324. In The Celtic Twilight, Yeats asks, "What else can death be but the beginning of wisdom and power and beauty?" (115).

87 "The Tribes of Danu," 57.

88 The Celtic Twilight, 63-64.

89 See Poems, 46; 1, var. title.

90 Fairy and Folk Tales, 383.

91 See W.B. Yeats, Stories of Red Hanrahan, (Dundrum: The Dun Emer Press, 1904 [1905]; rpt. in Mythologies, 221, 256. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from the Hanrahan stories are from Mythologies. In The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1954), Virginia Moore describes the "four Celtic element-symbols" which were to have been important in the Irish Myteries Yeats and Maud Gonne planned: "the Lía Fail, or Stone of Destiny, which when touched by a rightful King of Ireland cried praise; the inexhaustible Caldron of the Dagda; the Sword of Nuada, from the cut of which no one recovered; and the self-directed Spear of Lug" (58-59).

92 The Secret Rose, 189.

93 Ibid., 187.

94 The Celtic Twilight, 98. Oisín's dusky demon, Dhoya's faery man, Fergus' Druid, for example, all shift shapes to avoid being overcome by mortals; Almintor and the other Sleepers on the Island of Statues are transformed into stone when they trespass on the faery island.

95 W.B. Yeats, The Speckled Bird, ed. William H. O'Donnell, Yeats Studies ([Toronto]: McClelland and Stewart, c1976), 34-35.

96 The Druid enchantment that convinces Cuchulain that the waves of the sea have been transformed into horses is described by Sister M. Bernetta Quinn as a "private" metamorphosis in which "not only the object [the waves] is metamorphosed but also the very process (the battle)" (Quinn, 213).

97 Fairy and Folk Tales, 287.

98 The Celtic Twilight, 1912, 18, 144.

99 The Celtic Twilight, 90.

100 The Secret Rose, 189.

101 The Celtic Twilight, 115.

102 Ibid.

103 Grossman, 36, 40.

104 W.B. Yeats, "William Blake and his Illustrations to the Divine Comedy," in Ideas of Good and Evil (London: Bullen, 1903); rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 128. Compare Villiers's description of men of genius: "On ne peut les mesurer exactement. Ils échappent aux conventions sociales" (Reliques, 50).

105 The Celtic Twilight, 115, 116.

106 Grossman, 187.

107 In The Identity of Yeats, Ellmann calls these gifts "familiar and grandiloquent" (251).

108 Grossman (187-96) gives a rather different, but quite interesting reading of "The Cap and Bells," drawing in part for his interpretation, as I have, from "The Queen and the Fool." I would quarrel with him primarily on matters of what are perhaps minor detail. The line "Till stars grew out of the air," for instance, which I see as an indication of the appearance of stars as night approaches, Grossman reads as the disappearance of the stars indicative of the end of time at the Last Judgment (193). I also disagree with part of his interpretation of the image of cap and bells. He concurs with Morton Seiden that the cap and bells are a "genital symbol" but sees the gift

as a suggestion of "penitential castration" rather than a more normal sexual offer (192). I find this interpretation unwarranted, in part because I believe sexuality is represented in the poem by the "red and quivering garment" in which the jester's heart sings to the queen. What Michael J. Sidnell terms the sexual-apocalyptic theme of The Wind Among the Reeds makes sexual readings of many of the poems appropriate and necessary (see "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes, and Their Circle," Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, Yeats Studies [Toronto: Macmillan, c1975], 244). At times, however, Grossman tends to carry this a little too far. He finds, for instance, the same penitential castration in "The Hosting of the Sidhe" (Grossman, 192).

109 The Celtic Twilight, 115.

110 "Gods and Fighting Men," 17.

111 Ibid., 18.

112 Ibid.

113 Quinn, 211.

114 Sister M. Bernetta Quinn notes that Cuchulain's "birth is a Celtic echo of the Leda myth" (Quinn, 211).

115 Yeats gives two separate versions of the story: one in "Cuchulain's Fight with the Sea" and one in On Baile's Strand.

116 Quinn describes Cuchulain as a symbol of "all those who struggle hopelessly against the sorrows of the world" (Quinn, 213).

117 W.B. Yeats, "The Play, the Player, and the Scene," Samhain (Dec., 1904); rpt. in Explorations, 168. In writing on Blake, Yeats stresses the older poet's insistence on the necessity of extravagance not only for art, but for life itself:

Against another desire of his time, derivative also from what he has called "corporeal reason," the desire for "a tepid moderation," for a lifeless "sanity in both art and life," he had protested years before with a paradoxical violence. "The roadway of excess leads to the palace of wisdom," and we must only "bring out weight and measure in time of dearth." This protest, carried, in the

notes on Sir Joshua Reynolds, to the point of dwelling with pleasure on the thought that "The Lives of the Painters say that Raphael died of dissipation," because dissipation is better than emotional penury, seemed as important to his old age as to his youth. He taught it to his disciples, and one finds it in its purely artistic shape in a diary written by Samuel Palmer, in 1824: "Excess is the essential vivifying spirit, vital spark, embalming spice of the finest art." ("William Blake and his Illustrations," 123)

Yeats repeats the reference to Palmer, in part, in "The Celtic Element in Literature" (184). It is interesting to note that in a letter to Olivia Shakespear written in November 1894, Yeats advised her that she could improve her novels by working on her men: "I wonder how you would fare were you to pick out some eccentric man, either from among those you know, or from literary history, from the Villiers De Lisle Adams [sic] and Verlaines, and set him to make love to your next heroine?" (Letters, 240). Villiers would have appreciated this, since he too believed extravagance was essential in life. Dante erred, he felt, in assigning the wicked to hell; only the "Médiocre" will go there because the Bible itself says, "'Si vous êtes tièdes, je vous vomirai par ma bouche'" (L'Eve, 440-41).

118 W.B. Yeats, "Poetry and Tradition," in The Cutting of an Agate (New York: Macmillan, 1912); rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 254. Villiers acknowledges

deux manifestations de la Race, l'homme de génie et le héros. Tous deux portent leur signe avec eux. Tous deux font la noblesse d'un pays, mais de la noblesse humaine. Par la race qui est en eux, dans l'un comme l'éclair, dans l'autre comme le flambeau, ils tiennent du feu qui purifie ce qu'il touche ou le consume. Toute action se transforme en eux et devient belle (L'Eve, 439).

119 "Poetry and Tradition," 254-55.

120 The Celtic Twilight, 30.

121 I consider the converse to this transformation of life into art later in this chapter when discussing the transformation of art into life.

- 122 Richard Ellmann, Yeats: The Man and the Masks (New York: Dutton, c1948), 38.
- 123 Ibid., 39.
- 124 See the discussion of "le Verbe" in my Chapter One, 68ff.
- 125 "The Symbolism of Poetry," 158.
- 126 W.B. Yeats, "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," in Ideas of Good and Evil (London: Bullen, 1903); rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 65.
- 127 W.B. Yeats, Discoveries, 287.
- 128 See Allan Wade, A Bibliography of the Writings of W.B. Yeats, ed. Russell K. Alspach, 3rd ed. rev., The Soho Bibliographies, 1, ([London]: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1968), 83.
- 129 W.B. Yeats, "First Principles," Samhain (Dec., 1904); rpt. in Explorations, 152-53.
- 130 Grossman writes that poetry is "mediate between eternity and time" (73).
- 131 Discoveries, 287-88.
- 132 "The Symbolism of Poetry," 159.
- 133 Ibid., 157. I shall discuss these aspects of art in more detail later in this chapter.
- 134 In The Celtic Twilight, Yeats tells us that "If beauty is not a gateway out of the net we were taken in at our birth, it will not long be beauty" (63-64). Compare the description of Margaret's effect on Michael in The Speckled Bird: "Margaret had moved Michael so much partly because her beauty was a passionless beauty laden with a stillness and silence, a gate through which his dreams rushed into a shadowy eternity" (174). Since poetry for Yeats, as for the Irish in general "has always been mysteriously connected with magic" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 5), the poet is like the enchanter of old who could

create or reveal for himself as well as for others the supernatural artist or genius, the seeming transitory mind made out of many minds, whose work [presented itself in imaginative visions shared in waking trances by several people]. He kept the doors, too, as it seems, of those less transitory minds, the genius of the family, the genius of the tribe, or it may be, when he was mighty-souled enough, the genius of the world. (W.B. Yeats, "Magic," in Ideas of Good and Evil [London: Bullen, 1903]; rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 43-44)

135 Fairy and Folk Tales, 76, 385.

136 Ibid., 76. Grossman makes an interesting comment on Yeats's own relationship with the Leanhuan Shee: "All of Yeats' early poetic self-images were preyed upon by 'the dreadful solitary fairy,' who symbolizes the terrors of the sublimation required by Wisdom. Niamh was of the Leanhuan Shee, Cleena who drives to madness and death Owen O'Sullivan was also, as was Maude Gonne and Ireland herself" (Grossman, 38).

137 For typographical convenience, when quoting from this poem I remove the italics which set the modern commentary off from the ancient tale. I also remove the italics without comment in a number of other places when the entire passage quoted is in this type.

138 On one level, the evil days are simply the days of famine and bartering with demons depicted in the play. They are also the days of life and time and change. Aleel is inviting Cathleen to Tír-na-n-Og until the time of the final cataclysm.

139 Dillon and Chadwick, 153. Dillon and Chadwick observe that although the Irish women "were the vehicles by which the dead were reborn in generation after generation," the "human husband has no spiritual rôle" (150). This situation is not, of course, peculiar to Celtic mythology. Like Cuchulain's human "father," and Joseph of Nazareth, mortal men are frequently cast in the role of Amphitryon.

140 The Celtic Twilight, 115.

141 See also The Celtic Twilight, 121; "William Blake and his Illustrations to the Divine Comedy," 116; The Hour Glass in Plays, 596. In one of the fragments of L'Eve future, Edison reminds Ewald

that women differ mentally from men and have "d'autres énergies" for comprehension. A woman's mind, he says, "est toute mystérieuse d'un instinct divin" (L'Eve, 436).

142 Like Maeve and other Irish heroines and heroes, Aoife is sometimes a mortal and sometimes a goddess (see Dillon and Chadwick, 153-55). Although in "The Grey Rock" Aoife is immortal, in On Baile's Strand she is human. Her hair is red, however, one of the two colours favoured by faeries (the second being green). The metamorphoses attributed by Fintain to Aoife's Queens are indications of man's ancient ambivalence towards women for they are signs that the Queens are witches who get their power from evil spirits and their "own malignant will" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 133). Yeats informs us in Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry that "the central notion of witchcraft everywhere is the power to change into some fictitious form, usually in Ireland a hare or a cat. Long ago a wolf was the favourite" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 134-35).

143 Rose, 253.

144 Ibid.

145 The Celtic Twilight, 56. Compare Hadaly's advice to Ewald in L'Eve future. When Ewald admires the beautiful song of the nightingale and remarks that "c'est l'oeuvre de Dieu," the following exchange takes place:

- Alors, dit-elle, admirez-la: mais ne cherchez pas à savoir comment elle se produit.
- Quel serait le péril, si j'essayais? demanda en souriant lord Ewald.
- Dieu se retirerait du chant! murmura tranquillement Hadaly. (L'Eve, 189)

146 Quinn, 211. See "The Song of Wandering Aengus" and "He mourns for the change that has come upon him and his Beloved, and longs for the End of the World," in Poems, 149, 153.

147 Discoveries, 287. The editors of Druid Craft draw attention to Yeats's "preoccupation" with "the prospect of the great cataclysm that will end creation" (108). In "The Wanderings of Oisín" they cite Poems, 16, 11.218-20; 17, 1.246; 20, 11.290-91; 28, 11.424-27; 35, 11.86-87; 45, 11.235-39.

148 The Celtic Twilight, 100.

149 Fairy and Folk Tales, 385.

150 Ibid., 76.

151 Grossman, 36.

152 See "The Host of the Air," in Poems, 145, var. 1.40d; The Celtic Twilight, 73-74.

153 E. Starkie, 89.

154 Quinn outlines Yeats's references to witches and devils in connection with metamorphosis (see Quinn, 223-25).

155 Compare the admission by Césaire Lenoir, Villiers's Hegelian in Tribulat Bonhomet, that however "l'Etre-Inconditionnel" may be defined, he is sure of only one thing: "j'ai PEUR de cet absolu Justicier" (Tribulat Bonhomet, in Oeuvres complètes, III, 125, 126).

156 Yeats writes that "The paradise of the Christian . . . is but the fulfilment of one dream; but the paradise that the common people tell of about the fire . . . is the fulfilment of all dreams" ("The Literary Movement in Ireland," North American Review [Dec., 1899]; rpt. in Uncollected Prose, II, 195).

157 Druid Craft, 18.

158 Man has an almost innate and often irrational fear of the wind because it is a natural emblem of unseen destructive power. Directors of horror and suspense films are among those who have exploited the wind's capacity to "spook." In Tribulat Bonhomet, Villiers's title character, the epitome of Common Sense and nineteenth-century rationalism, confesses that he is subject to "une Appréhension, une ANXIETE sans motif précis, une AFFRE" which he cannot explain, but which is precipitated by, among other things, the wind and the "mille tressaillements du Silence" (56, 57). What he is experiencing is "le soufflement de l'Au-delà."

159 Druid Craft, 19.

160 Quoted in part in Druid Craft, 19.

161 Druid Craft, 19.

162 Regardie, I, 56.

163 Ibid.; quoted in Druid Craft, 28.

164 See my Chapter One, 28-30.

165 Grossman applies the recognition won with such difficulty by Oisín to Yeats himself. Of the Wisdom figure, which he sees as the image of transcendence at the heart of Yeats's search for poetic knowledge in The Wind Among the Reeds, Grossman writes: "It is the seed of modernity in Yeats that no relation to the white woman could compensate him for the sacrifice of that enforced oblation," the self-sacrifice demanded of the poet (Grossman, xvii).

166 In his Introduction to W.B. Yeats, The Celtic Twilight and a Selection of Early Poems (New York: New American Library, 1962), Walter Starkie describes "The Wanderings of Oisín" as "a first statement of what [Yeats] came in his old age to feel was the major theme of his entire work: the horror of old age that brings wisdom at the price of bodily decrepitude and death" (W. Starkie, xv).

167 The Celtic Twilight, 139.

168 "Poetry and Tradition," 251.

169 "What is 'Popular Poetry'?" 4.

170 "Gods and Fighting Men," 24.

171 Robert O'Driscoll, Symbolism and Some Implications of the Symbolic Approach: W.B. Yeats During the Eighteen-Nineties, New Yeats Papers, 9 (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1975), 24.

172 W.B. Yeats, The Secret Rose (London: Laurence and Bullen, 1897), vii; hereafter cited as The Secret Rose (1897).

173 Ibid.

174 The 1897 edition of The Secret Rose includes not only the series republished in modified form under the same name, but also "Rosa Alchemica" and the series which became Stories of Red Hanrahan. See Finneran, Prose (40, 41-42), for a summary of the republication history of The Secret Rose and the Hanrahan stories.

175 The Secret Rose (1897), VII.

176 Finneran, Prose, 18.

177 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 29. Yeats's sympathy for the brothers in "Where there is Nothing there is God" is in part explained by a passage in Per Amica Silentia Lunae in which he writes that he has "always sought to bring [his] mind close to the mind" of those who are themselves in communion with Anima Mundi. Among those he lists are "lay brothers whom I imagine dreaming in some mediaeval monastery the dreams of their village" (Per Amica Silentia Lunae [London: Macmillan, 1918]; rpt. in Mythologies, 343).

178 Finneran describes "The Crucifixion of the Outcast" as "Yeats's favourite story in the collection." He cites the Wade note that Yeats had inscribed John Quinn's copy of Vol. VII of The Collected Works in Verse and Prose with the words: "Early stories of which 'The Crucifixion of the Outcast' is nearest my heart" (Finneran, Prose, 19, 34-35, quoting Wade, Bibliography, 91).

179 The Secret Rose, 174.

180 Ibid.

181 In "Yeats as Adept and Artist: The Speckled Bird, The Secret Rose, and The Wind among the Reeds," Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, William H. O'Donnell writes that "The Heart of the Spring" is a "fictional celebration of the search for Adeptship" (62).

182 The story originally appeared as "St. Patrick and the Pedants," in The Weekly Sun Literary Supplement, (Dec. 1, 1895). See Wade, Bibliography, 41.

183 The Secret Rose, 193.

184 Ibid.

185 Compare "The Scholars," Poems, 337.

186 The Secret Rose, 194-95.

187 The Secret Rose, 165. See also the poem on 166.

188 Ibid., 167.

189 Ibid.

190 Ibid., 170.

191 Ibid., 169.

192 Ibid.

193 Ibid. Compare Margaret in The Speckled Bird: although she has that "fragile refinement of beauty which is the greatest of all because it is not quite of this world" (129, 162), Margaret lacks the courage to defy her mother and the conventions of society by marrying Michael.

194 The Secret Rose, 169.

195 Ibid., 170.

196 Ibid.

197 Even in "The Wisdom of the King," although the Sidhe seem definitely in control, the disregard for the old laws suggests the end of an era is approaching.

198 The Secret Rose, 174.

199 Ibid., 171.

200 Ibid., 154, 153, 147. The monks in the story have made a mockery of the Christian cross by continuing its original use, thus perverting it from its redeemed function as tree of life.

201 Ibid., 162-63.

202 Finneran sees Yeats's attitude to Christianity as inconsistent, citing the Sidhe's support for the Catholic friars in this story (Finneran, Prose, 34). Apparently Finneran feels it is inappropriate for the pagan gods to assist adherents of the new religion which has relegated them to the twilight. It seems natural to me, however, that the Sidhe should ally themselves with the native Irish Catholics, who love beautiful religious art, ritual,

and tradition, and that they should stand opposed to the Puritans who are an upstart foreign-based force seen as the tool of English domination and noted for dour dislike of all things beautiful, "frivolous" or smacking of idolatry. The Sidhe are, after all, merely defending the homeland against invaders: this has been their legendary role since they pushed back the Fomoroh on the Towery Plain.

203 The Secret Rose, 194.

204 Ibid., 187.

205 Ibid., 163, 164.

206 Ibid., 181, 183.

207 Ibid., 209.

208 Ibid., 210.

209 Ibid., 166.

210 Ibid.

211 Ibid., 172.

212 Compare The King's Threshold, Plays, 256-312.

213 The Secret Rose, 170.

214 Ibid., 168, 170. Compare At the Hawk's Well, especially the final song of the musicians (Plays, 412-14).

215 The Secret Rose, 152.

216 Ibid., 154.

217 Ibid., 155.

218 Ibid.

219 W.B. Yeats, "The Binding of the Hair," in The Secret Rose (1897); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, I, 391.

220 Dectira's role as human surrogate for the divine principle is suggested by many details in the story, including the fact that she is young, wise, and beautiful. The description of Aodh's "listening in silence to the rustling of her dress" ("The Binding of the Hair," 391) echoes the passage quoted earlier from "The Crucifixion of the Outcast" in which Cumhal speaks of his pursuit of eternal beauty, saying he has "heard in [his] heart the rustling of the rose-bordered dress of her who is more subtle than Aengus the Subtle-hearted" (The Secret Rose, 155). The hyperbole of Aodh's song of love to Dectira befits a hymn to eternal beauty. (See "The Binding of the Hair," 393, especially the second stanza of the poem.)

221 "The Binding of the Hair," 391.

222 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 26.

223 "The Binding of the Hair," 393.

224 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 27.

225 In the mid-1930's, Yeats rewrote "The Binding of the Hair" as a play, The King of the Great Clock Tower, which appeared first in prose (1934) and then in verse (1935). He subsequently revised the play drastically and it re-appeared as A Full Moon in March. Although the Stroller and Swineherd of the plays are reworkings of Aedh, his name does not occur in these plays. I discuss The King of the Great Clock Tower and A Full Moon in March in Chapter Four. Aedh is also a character in The Herne's Egg (1938). The Aedh of this play has a relatively minor role as the mortal king of Tara; he bears little relationship to the earlier Aedh except that he is a teller of tales. (See Plays, 1013-14).

The first mention of Aedh that I have found in Yeats's work is in "Irish National Literature, II: Contemporary Prose Writers . . .," published in The Bookman, August, 1895. (Poems, with its revised version of "The Wanderings of Oisín" did not appear until October 1895, and "The Binding of the Hair" came out first in January 1896 in The Savoy and was reprinted only once in the first edition of The Secret Rose, 1897). The Bookman article contains a review of Nora Hopper's Ballads in Prose, which Yeats praises "with hardly a reservation." He confesses that he has been "haunted all the winter by 'Daluan,' 'The Gifts of Aodh and Una,' 'The Four Kings,' and 'Aonan-na-Rígh,' and more than all by the sacrifice of Aodh in the temple of the heroes,

that the land might be delivered from famine" (in Uncollected Prose, I, 370). Yeats then quotes at length from Hopper's description of Aodh's sacrifice. Grossman explains the Hopper material:

In the Temple of the Heroes the mythical dead of Ireland draw their substance from Ireland's poet [Aodh], and the poet withers away. In this way "Reality" in the Neoplatonic sense, or Wisdom in the occult sense, feeds malignantly on the life of the hero, as art on the vitality of the artist. Given the work, to use the terms of "The Choice," there can be no life. (Grossman, 38-39)

226 Standish O'Grady, History of Ireland (London: Sampson, Lowe, Searle, Marston, etc., 1878-1880), II, 319 as quoted in Grossman, 111. Grossman devotes a large section of his sixth chapter to Aedh. See especially 106-14.

227 Grossman sees O'Grady's Aedh as the positive image and the Aedh of The Wind Among the Reeds as always negative because he is "a god of death in the form of a poet obsessed with cataclysm"--"the consummation of [his] love requires the destruction of the whole real world" (Grossman, 111). This seems to me rather overstated, although there is some support for it in "Aedh tells of a Valley full of Lovers," "Aedh tells of the Perfect Beauty," "Aedh hears the Cry of the Sedge," and "Aedh wishes his Beloved were dead," all of which contain references to the cataclysm or the death of the Beloved. A careful reading of these poems, however, will, I think, reveal that they are generally more positive than one would at first expect. Aedh is, of course, "Building a sorrowful loveliness," but in balance the emphasis seems to me to fall on the last word: in the order of his poems, he desires to reshape "All things uncomely and broken" in the world so that they will not wrong the image of his beloved in his heart (Poems, 142-43); he tells her he has lost his new love because she realized he still loves the old (Poems, 152); he builds for the old love that sorrowful loveliness because of her eternal beauty (Poems, 157); he warns other lovers that very beauty may blind them to the charms of their own love until the final cataclysm comes (Poems, 163); he bows only before the perfect beauty of his beloved and of the stars and will do so until the end of time (Poems, 164); he realizes that he shall never possess her until then (Poems, 165); but still he makes from a "mouthful of air" a poem in her praise that will survive much longer than her detractors will (Poems, 166); he pleads for peace for his beloved (Poems, 174); he wishes she were dead so that she might be free to come to him (Poems, 175); he desires to give her the three great lights of heaven but in their place offers her his only possession--his dreams (Poems, 176).

228 "The Binding of the Hair," 391, 393.

229 Ibid., 391.

230 Grossman describes the Aodh of "The Binding of the Hair" as "the hopeless lover," citing the fact that Dectira fastens up her hair, rather than engulfing her lover in it, thus "making emphatic the hopelessness of the poet's address and constructing a typical symbol of a condition of order beyond human achievement" (Grossman, 113). Aodh's singing, as we might expect from Grossman's emphasis on sexuality, is "in this context . . . a symbol expressing the completion of a sexual relationship the condition of which is the death of the poet-lover" (Grossman, 112).

231 Grossman says that "Aedh is by far the most important single poetic surrogate in The Wind among the Reeds and that nine of the thirty-seven poems in the volume are assigned to him (Grossman, 111). There are actually ten (see below, n232). He is perhaps not counting "Aedh gives his Beloved Certain Rhymes" since this is the song of the severed head from "The Binding of the Hair."

232 "The Desire of Man and of Woman" (1897) = "Mongan laments the Change that has come upon him and his Beloved" (1899) = "He mourns for the Change that has come upon him and his Beloved, and longs for the End of the World" (1906).
 "Song of Mongan" (1898) = "Mongan thinks of his Past Greatness" (1899) = "He thinks of his Past Greatness when a Part of the Constellations of Heaven" (1906).

"The Shadowy Horses" (1896) = "Michael Robartes bids his Beloved be at Peace" (1899) = "He bids his Beloved be at Peace" (1906).
 "O'Sullivan Rua to Mary Lavell" (1896) = "Michael Robartes remembers Forgotten Beauty" (1899) = "He remembers Forgotten Beauty" (1906).
 "The Twilight of Forgiveness" (1895) = "Michael Robartes asks Forgiveness because of his Many Moods" (1899) = "The Lover asks Forgiveness because of his Many Moods" (1906).

"The Rose in my Heart" (1892) = "Aedh tells of the Rose in his Heart" (1899) = "The Lover tells of the Rose in his Heart" (1906).
 "Aodh to Dectora/Three Songs/ 2" (1898) = "Aedh laments the Loss of Love" (1899) = "The Lover mourns for the Loss of Love" (1906).
 Untitled (in "The Binding of the Hair") (1896) = "Aedh gives his Beloved certain Rhymes" (1899) = "He gives his Beloved certain Rhymes" (1906).

"The Valley of Lovers" (1897) = "Aedh tells of a Valley full of Lovers" (1899) = "He tells of a Valley full of Lovers" (1906).
 "O'Sullivan the Red to Mary Lavell I" (1896) = "Two Poems by O'Sullivan the Red concerning Mary Lavell" (1896) = "Aedh tells of the Perfect Beauty" (1899) = "He tells of the Perfect Beauty" (1906).

"Aodh to Dectora/Three Songs/I" (1898) = "Aedh hears the Cry of the Sedge" (1899) = "He hears the Cry of the Sedge" (1906).

"Aodh to Dectora/Three Songs/ 3" (1898) = "Aedh thinks of those who have Spoken Evil of his Beloved" (1899) = "He thinks of those who have Spoken Evil of his Beloved" (1906).

"A Mystical Prayer to the Masters of the Elements, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael" (1892) = "A Mystical Prayer to the Masters of the Elements, Finvarra, Feacra, and Caolte" (1894) = "Aodh pleads with the Elemental Powers" (1898) = "Aedh pleads with the Elemental Powers" (1899) = "The Poet pleads with the Elemental Powers" (1906).

"Aodh to Dectora" (1898) = "Aedh wishes his Beloved were dead" (1899) = "He wishes his Beloved were dead" (1906).

"Aedh wishes for the Cloths of Heaven" (1899) = "He wishes for the Cloths of Heaven" (1906).

"Windle-straws/ 1. O'Sullivan Rua to the Curlew" (1896) = "Hanrahan reproves the Curlew" (1899) = "He reproves the Curlew" (1906).

Untitled (in "The Twisting of the Rope") (1892) = untitled (in "The Twisting of the Rope and Hanrahan the Red") (1897) = "O'Sullivan the Red upon his Wanderings" (1897) = "Hanrahan laments because of his Wanderings" (1899) = "The Lover mourns because of his Wanderings" (1906) = "Maid Quiet" (1908).

Untitled (in "The Vision of O'Sullivan the Red") (1896) = untitled (in "The Vision of Hanrahan the Red") (1897) = "Hanrahan speaks to the Lovers of his Songs in Coming Days" (1899) = "A Lover speaks to the Lovers of his Songs in Coming Days" (1906) = "The Lover speaks to the Hearers of his Songs in Coming Days" (1933).

In a note after the title of "Mongan thinks of his Past Greatness," Yeats tells us that "in the old Celtic poetry, [Mongan] is a famous wizard and king who remembers his passed lives" (Poems, 177). Ellman says "Yeats's Mongan only slightly resembles the legendary Mongan, himself an elusive character" and refers the reader to H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, The Irish Mythological Cycle (Dublin, Hodges, Figgis, 1903), 190-96 (Ellmann, Identity, 303).

Yeats's use of the historical Jacobite poet Owen O'Sullivan the Red is discussed briefly by both Grossman and Richard J. Finneran ("'Old lecher with a love on every wind': A Study of Yeats' Stories of Red Hanrahan," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 14, No. 2 [Summer, 1972], 350-51). Grossman concludes that Yeats eventually eliminates the name from his material because "the persona of O'Sullivan was too overt and subject to limitation by historical fact, and the Jacobite position was, though colourful, excessively specific (Grossman, 106).

²³³ Ellmann, Identity, 302.

²³⁴ Rosarium philosophorum in Artis Auriferae II, 378; quoted and translated in Jung, 120n.

235 Walter Pater, The Renaissance (1873, 1888; rpt. Cleveland: Meridian-World, 1961), 222.

236 The Secret Rose, 185.

237 See my Chapter One, passim, especially 17-18.

238 Compare the alchemist's role as both ars and artifex, expressed by Villiers in Axël and Sara.

239 Jung quotes "an uncanonical saying of our Lord":

"Ait autem ipse salvator: Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignem est, qui longe est a me, longe est a regno"
(The Saviour himself says: He that is near me is near the fire. He that is far from me is far from the kingdom).

(Origen, Homiliae in Jeremiam, XX, 3; cited in Montague Rhodes James, ed. and trans., The Apocraphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924), 35, as quoted in Jung, 196n.)

240 The poem appeared only in 1908 in Collected Works, Vol. II. Compare Yeats's statement in a letter written in 1888 to Katharine Tynan: "My life has been in my poems. To make them I have broken my life in a mortar, as it were" (Letters, 84).

241 Per Amica, 325. It is for this reason that "Ille" of "Ego Dominus Tuus" seeks an image which is both a literary image and a psychological principle of projection. This image will help him summon "the mysterious one" who is simultaneously most like and most unlike him, being his anti-self. The mysterious anti-self will reveal the secret meanings of the characters Ille traces upon the sands, the symbols of his true but hidden nature, (see Per Amica, 321-24 and Poems, 367-71). Robert M. Schuler relates Yeats's integration of autobiography and art to alchemy: "the alchemist's need to transform himself into 'gold' explains the aesthetic principle behind Yeats's habit of melting, casting, and recasting his autobiography into lasting works of art [;] it shows the poet's motive to be more than self-indulgence" (Schuler, 53).

242 Finneran, Prose, 17. Finneran goes on to quote part of the letter to John O'Leary in which Yeats describes The Secret Rose as "an honest attempt towards that aristocratic esoteric Irish literature, which has been my chief ambition. We have literature for the people but nothing yet for the few" (Letters, 286; quoted in Finneran, Prose, 17).

243 See Wade, Bibliography, 41.

244 See *Ibid.*, 74. Finneran points out that "even though all editions of the [Hanrahan] collection since 1925 have had the following statement on the title page: 'rewritten in 1907 with Lady Gregory's help'" the revisions were actually carried out in 1903-04 (see Finneran, "Old Lecher," 349, 349n). Only fairly minor revisions occur after the 1905 edition and most would probably not be due to Lady Gregory's assistance (for instance, the poems in "The Twisting of the Rope" and "Hanrahan's Vision" are changed). For a collation of the printed versions of the Hanrahan stories, see Michael J. Sidnell, "Versions of the Stories of Red Hanrahan," Yeats Studies: An International Journal, I (Bealtaine, 1971), 119-174.

245 On the historical sources of Hanrahan, see Finneran, "Old lecher," 350-51. Yeats tells us in "The Tower" (Poems, 411), "I myself created Hanrahan." In John Quinn's copy of the 1905 edition of Stories of Red Hanrahan Yeats wrote, "Red Hanrahan is an imaginary name--I saw it over a shop, or rather part of it over a shop in a Galway village--but there were many poets like him in the eighteenth century in Ireland" (Wade, Bibliography, 74).

246 "The Book of the Great Dhoul and Hanrahan the Red," in The Secret Rose (1897), 127; Stories of Red Hanrahan, 215.

247 The Secret Rose (1897), 132, 126. The grimoire is an actual text entitled The Constitution of Honorius. It was first published in Rome in 1629, but attributed to Pope Honorius III, whose reign was 1216-1227. In La Clef des grands mystères (Paris: Félix Alcan, n.d.), Eliphas Lévi describes the grimoire as follows:

Le grimoire d'Honorius se compose d'une constitution apocriphe d'Honorius [III] pour l'évocation et le gouvernement des esprits; plus, de quelques recettes superstitieuses . . . C'était le manuel des mauvais prêtres qui exerçaient la magie noire pendant les plus tristes périodes du moyen âge. On y trouve des rites sanglants mêlés à des profanations de la messe et des espèces consacrées, des formules d'envoûtement et de maléfices, puis des pratiques que la stupidité seule peut admettre et la fourberie conseiller. Enfin, c'est un livre complet dans son genre: aussi est-il devenu fort rare en librairie, et les amateurs le poussent-ils très haut dans les ventes publiques. (166-67)

248 As with most of Yeats's immortal women who stand in the role of Eternal Beauty, there is a "border of little embroidered roses that went round and about the edge of [Cleena's] robe" (The Secret Rose, 1897, 135). Compare the description of the faery woman in Dhoya: "Her dress was white, save for a border of feathers dyed the fatal red of the spirits" (John Sherman and Dhoya, 119).

249 The Secret Rose (1897), 134.

250 Ibid., 137.

251 The Secret Rose (1897), 137-38. Compare Villiers's story "Véra." The comte d'Athol, refusing to accept the death of his young bride, fills his house and especially their bedroom with memories and love of her. The effect is like Hanrahan's evocation of Cleena. The spiritual presence of Véra, the wife, is felt throughout the house, even by the servant. On the anniversary of Véra's death she appears to the count:

Le comte avait creusé dans l'air la forme de son amour, et il fallait bien que ce vide fût comblé par le seul être qui lui était homogène, autrement l'Univers aurait croulé. L'impression passa, en ce moment, définitive, simple, absolue, qu'Elle devait être là, dans la chambre! . . . Un frais éclat de rire musical éclaira de sa joie le lit nuptial; le comte se retourna. Et là, devant ses yeux, faite de volonté et de souvenir, accoudée, fluide, sur l'oreiller de dentelles, sa main soutenant ses lourds cheveux noirs, sa bouche délicieusement entr'ouverte en un sourire tout emparadisé de voluptés, belle à en mourir, enfin! la comtesse Véra le regardait un peu endormie encore.

("Véra," in Contes cruels in Oeuvres complètes, II, 32-33). They enjoy a night of ecstatic love until the count suddenly remembers, "Mais tu es morte!" ("Véra," 33). Véra disappears immediately, but leaves behind the key to her tomb.

252 The Secret Rose, 1897, 137.

253 Ibid., 139.

254 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 33-34.

255 In the context of an examination of At the Hawk's Well, F.A.C. Wilson takes a brief look at "Red Hanrahan," the story that replaces "The Book of the Great Dhoul and Hanrahan the Red"; he applies a similar pattern to the story which he terms "a simple account of the quest for the cauldron of the Dagda, which is the Celtic Grail." (See F.A.C. Wilson, Yeats's Iconography [Victor Gollancz, 1960; reprinted, London: Methuen, 1969], 47-52.)

256 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 32. O'Driscoll compares the change in Hanrahan's role with the speaker's shift from active to passive between "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time" and "The Hosting of the Sidhe."

257 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 213. On the Samhain setting, see *ibid.*, 216, 219. Samhain, held about November 1, was the Celtic winter or harvest festival, an appropriate time for the gathering of souls, as even Christianity recognizes -- October 31 is All Soul's Day, and November 1 All Saints.

258 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 218. In his discussion of Yeats's boar without bristles, O'Driscoll draws attention to an incident of Irish folklore with which Yeats may have been familiar: "a certain schoolmaster was in the habit of changing his pupils into hounds and one into a hare." In revenge, the father of the boy he had transformed into the hare convinced the teacher to show off by changing himself into a pig. When he obliged, the father burnt the teacher's grimoire and he was unable to return to human shape. (See O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 58; the folk belief was recorded by R.S. Rogers, "The Folklore of the Black Pig's Dyke," Ulster Folk Life, II [1957], 30-31.) It is possible that this piece of folklore is one of the sources of Yeats's "Hanrahan the Red." Yeats himself cites "a Sligo tale about 'a wild old man in flannel' who could change a pack of cards into the likeness of a pack of hounds" (Early Poems and Stories, 1925, 528; quoted in Sidnell, "Versions of The Stories of Red Hanrahan," 166).

259 "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 90. The symbolism is natural enough when the hound's role as hunter is considered and to this is added its melancholy baying, especially on moonlit nights.

260 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 220.

261 *Ibid.*

262 Jung, 195.

263 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 220.

264 Ibid., 213; see also 221.

265 Ellmann, Identity, 29. Interpretation of Tarot symbolism varies from author to author; Cirlot, Waite, and Yeats, for instance, all disagree over even the assignment of the four Tarot suits to parallels with the suits of the common playing deck (see Cirlot, 310; Arthur Edward Waite, The Pictorial Key to the Tarot [1910; rpt. New Hyde Park, N.J.: University Books, c1959], viii; Yeats, Stories of Red Hanrahan, 213, 221). All seem, however, to interpret the Tarot as, in Cirlot's words, "an image (comparable to that encountered in dreams) of the path of initiation" (Cirlot, 310). Raine points out that the Tarot emblems "recur in the ritual of the Golden Dawn as the four elemental weapons of the magician" used to evoke and control the elements and their correspondences (Raine, Tarot, 18). Among the works that discuss Tarot symbolism are Raine, Tarot; Regardie (especially Vol. I and Vol. IV, Book 8); Waite, Pictorial Key; Lévi, Dogme et rituel; Cirlot.

266 Finneran treats Hanrahan's inability to question the Sidhe as a "refusal to accept the summons of the immortal world" and goes on to discuss the consequences of his inaction on the "personal, poetic, and national" levels and his subsequent redemption through actions relating to all three ("Old lecher," 354-56; emphasis mine).

267 Raine, Tarot, 20.

268 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 223; see also 239.

269 "Magic," in Essays and Introductions, 28.

270 See, for example, "Magic," 36-37. Villiers shares Yeats's belief in these and other magical doctrines and psychic phenomena. Examples of extra-sensory perception are found in Axël when, for instance, Janus reads the minds of other characters, replying to their unspoken thoughts, or divines that Sara, having renounced the religious life will shortly arrive at the castle.

271 "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 79. On Yeats and Plato, see Raine, Death-in-Life, 13-15. Studies of parallels between the work of Yeats and Jung include, James Olney, "'A Powerful Emblem': The Towers of Yeats and Jung," The South Atlantic Quarter-

ly, 72, No. 4 (Autumn, 1973), 494-515; James Olney, "The Esoteric Flower: Yeats and Jung," in Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, 27-54; Richard J. Wall and Roger Fitzgerald, "Yeats and Jung: an Ideological Comparison," Literature and Psychology, 13, No. 2 (Spring, 1963), 44-52.

272 "The Symbolism of Poetry," 163, 159.

273 Ibid., 159.

274 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 249.

275 Ibid., 252.

276 Ibid., 254.

277 Ibid., 253-54.

278 Ibid., 256.

279 Ibid., 257.

280 Ibid., 258.

281 Ibid., 259.

282 Ibid., 259-60. Compare Hanrahan's experience of involuntary memory with his earlier vision evoked by the rose-petals, and with Sara's rosicrucian vision when her rose and dagger are juxtaposed by chance.

283 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 221, 260. Diane Bessai writes of Winny's transformation: "Winny, who on one hand represents the summation of all [Hanrahan's] mortal horrors and fears, is transformed into that divine vision which he had sought throughout his life. The dream which life could not fulfill is fulfilled in death. While it is a moment of pathos, it is also a moment of spiritual completion" (Bessai, 417).

284 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 260.

285 "Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places," 37.

286 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 261. Compare the role of the peasants in the burial and immortalization of Proud Costello.

287 Also called "The Song of Red Hanrahan" (1903), this poem appeared untitled in the story "Hanrahan and Cathleen the Daughter of Hoolihan" (1904) and its variations as well as in A Broad Sheet (April, 1903).

288 Although Yeats does not mention Hanrahan in the poem, when "The Heart of the Woman" originally appeared in "Those who Live in the Storm," it was attributed to O'Sullivan the Red and later transferred to his successor, Hanrahan, when the story was reprinted as "The Rose of Shadow" in The Secret Rose. It is the song which Hanrahan sang "after he had listened to the singing of those who are about the faery Cleena of the Wave, and it has lured, and will lure, many a girl from her hearth and from her peace" ("The Rose of Shadow," in The Secret Rose, 1897; rpt. in Uncollected Prose, I, 330). "The Rose of Shadow" did not appear in The Secret Rose after the first edition.

289 In The Celtic Twilight and Stories of Red Hanrahan (The Collected Works in Verse and Prose, Vol. V [Stratford-on-Avon: Bullen, 1908]), this poem was replaced by an untitled variant of "The Happy Townland." (See information on printings, Poems, 213.)

290 Stories of Red Hanrahan, 243.

291 See "The Twisting of the Rope," and "Red Hanrahan's Curse."

292 Finneran, "Old lecher," 357. Nuada of the Silver Hand is Echtge's father. Finneran writes that he was "a king of the Tuatha De Danaan and largely responsible for their victory over the various Powers of Darkness" (Finneran, "Old lecher," 354). More accurately, he led the Danaans on their invasion of Ireland when they defeated the old inhabitants, the Fir Bolg, in the first Battle of Moytura. Nuada lost an arm in this battle and it was replaced with "a fully jointed all-purpose silver hand" (Dillon and Chadwick, 148). Nevertheless, because of his handicap Nuada was not allowed to lead the Danaans in the second Battle of Moytura when the Fomoroh invaded Ireland. After much debate among the gods, this task was given to Lug. (See Dillon and Chadwick, 147-49.)

293 See Grossman, 103-23.

294 Per Amica, 346. See also A Vision, 220n: "I think it was

Porphyry who wrote that the generation of images in the mind is from water."

²⁹⁵ "Rosa Alchemica" is the first of a trilogy of stories, the chronology and sequence of which suggest they may at one time have been meant to form a novel. "Rosa Alchemica" appeared first in The Savoy (April, 1896); its sequel, "The Tables of the Law," in The Savoy (November, 1896); and "The Adoration of the Magi" in the privately printed volume, The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi (1897). Yeats had intended to publish all three stories in The Secret Rose (1897), but Bullen, the publisher, panicked when he read the last two works and would allow only "Rosa Alchemica" in the volume. Later he changed his mind about them. (See Yeats's note to Early Poems and Stories [London: Macmillan, 1925]; quoted in part in Finneran, Prose, 34 n29.) As with most of his prose works, Yeats revised all three of these stories almost every time he reprinted them. Although the changes do not alter the plot, they often make subtle shifts in meaning or emphasis; sometimes they clarify a reference. Frequently, however, the revisions are matters of improving style or structure. See Finneran, Prose, 40-41, for a summary of the republication history of the three stories.

By coincidence, among the "Oeuvres du Même Auteur" listed opposite the title page of Villiers's Le Nouveau Monde (Paris: Ollendorff, 1880) is a work entitled L'Adoration des Mages. Since it has never been found, it is likely that it was merely projected and never written.

MacGregor Mathers has been suggested as the most important source on which Yeats founded the character of Michael Robartes. See, for example, Warwick Gould, "'Lionel Johnson Comes the First to Mind': Sources for Owen Aherne," in Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, 255; and Laurence W. Fennelly, "W.B. Yeats and S.L. MacGregor Mathers," in Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, 305.

²⁹⁶ W.B. Yeats "Rosa Alchemica," in Early Poems and Stories (London: Macmillan, 1925); rpt. in Mythologies, 283-84. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from "Rosa Alchemica" are taken from Mythologies. Schuler examines Yeats's use of alchemy in "Rosa Alchemica" and a number of poems.

²⁹⁷ "Rosa Alchemica," 278, 282.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 276, 273.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 278, 280.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 271.

301 Ibid., 289.

302 Ibid., 286.

303 Ibid., 267.

304 Ibid.

305 Ibid., 274-75. In the manuscript of the "Final" version of The Speckled Bird there is a passage in which Michael, day-dreaming, conjures up the imaginary characters the fishermen speak of in their tales,

and sometimes it would seem to him that his imagination began to move of itself, and that the forms it called before him came from their own will and not his will. . . . He would watch some troop of figures moving before his mind's eye--at first coming, it seemed, out of what he was reading at the time, but presently out of some deeper life--and wonder whether they were mere imagination. (The Speckled Bird, 29)

In an earlier manuscript Michael plans an occult order based on aesthetic principles and the Grail literature. He writes to Margaret about the sacredness and power of the imagination:

We will change all things if we can make the imagination sacred. One little group of impulses and of images created by the imagination of the early centuries are indeed sacred--the mother and child, St. Peter with his fishing net, the figure on the cross, certain forms of prayer, and certain words--but all the images and impulses of the imagination, just in so far as they are shaped and ordered in beauty and in peace, must become sacred. To do this they must be associated deliberately and directly with the history of the soul, and they must be given so coherent and intense and separate a life that they shall seem the immortalities and perfections that they are. . . . O my dear one, there is nothing but the imagination, and we and all that we can see are but shadows of the images it made before the beginning of time, and the great myths, the great legends, that have made all that is permanent in us, are the activities of the gods building the creation of time, the breath of

the god who is over the gods moving upon the waters. (The Speckled Bird, 205-06)

The tragic and tragi-comic sides of the "making and unmaking" of humanity by the divinities of the imagination are portrayed in Madame Bovary and Don Quixote, two images of the effect of art on fictitious life. They are literary parallels of that real life destruction which we have seen so concerns Yeats in "The Man and the Echo."

306 "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 79.

307 "The Symbolism of Poetry," 156-57.

308 "Magic," 52.

309 "Rosa Alchemica," 284.

310 O'Donnell, "Yeats as Adept," points out that the cover of The Secret Rose (1897) is almost identical with the cover of the magical textbook in "Rosa Alchemica" and that The Secret Rose volume might, therefore, "qualify as a talisman or physical symbol of magical wisdom" (62). See *ibid.*, 62-63 and Ellmann, Identity, 64-65, for analyses of the cover of The Secret Rose (1897).

311 "Rosa Alchemica," 284-85. Compare the bodiless soul that descends to inhabit the android in Villiers's novel L'Eve future. In the Savoy edition of "Rosa Alchemica," the narrator remembers a particular mood.

that mood which Edgar Poe found in a wine-cup, and how it passed into France and took possession of Baudelaire, and from Baudelaire passed to England and the Pre-Raphaelites, and then again returned to France, and still wanders the world, enlarging its power as it goes, awaiting the time when it shall be, perhaps, alone, or, with other moods, master over a great new religion, and an awakener of the fanatical wars that hovered in the gray surges, and forget the wine-cup where it was born. (The Savoy, 2 [April, 1896], 66-67)

Although the passage was removed in revision, it is an interesting indication of the importance Yeats attached to symbolism at this time. He saw it as the subjective, spiritual literary movement that

would eventually overcome the objective, materialistic movements--realism and naturalism--and in time change the face of the earth. Although the narrator of "Rosa Alchemica" does not by any means always speak for Yeats, he seems to in this case. The fact that Yeats excised the passage suggests it represented an attitude of some significance about which he later had second thoughts.

³¹² See, for example, "Anima Mundi," in Per Amica, 343-66.

³¹³ W.B. Yeats, "Is the Order of R.R. & A.C. to remain a Magical Order? Written in March, 1901, and given to the Adepts of the Order of R.R. & A.C. in April, 1901," Appendix K in George Mills Harper, Yeats's Golden Dawn (London: Macmillan, 1974), 261, 265.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 262.

³¹⁵ Compare Kaspar's verbal counterfeiting, which is a form of blasphemy and murder. See my Chapter One, 71-72.

³¹⁶ See August Strindberg, The Road to Damascus: A Trilogy, trans. Graham Rawson (London: Jonathan Cape, c1939), 136. Compare Yeats's statement in "Is the Order of R.R. & A.C. to remain a Magical Order?":

We receive power from those who are above us by permitting the Lightning of the Supreme to descend through our souls and our bodies. The power is forever seeking the world, and it comes to a soul and consumes its mortality because the soul has arisen into the path of the Lightning, among the sacred leaves. ("Is the Order . . . ?" 266)

Yeats takes his imagery here from the Qabalah. The "sacred leaves" are on the Qabalistic Tree of Life and the "path of the Lightning" is one of the three paths to unity with the Divine Essence: the path of the serpent which is the normal, winding route of ascent through steady stages and successive reincarnations, the path of the arrow which is the hero or saint's quick and direct ascent through sacrifice, and the path of the lightning which is the route by which divine inspiration or revelation descends suddenly. (See Per Amica, 340, 361; Raine, Tarot, 22, 40, 51-54, et passim; O'Donnell, "Yeats as Adept," 76-77.) Hanrahan had been on the path of the serpent, but just before he died his experience with the domestic correspondents to the talismans and his sudden participation in the Great Memory marked his move into the path of the lightning.

317 "Symbolism in Painting," in Ideas of Good and Evil (London: Bullen, 1903); rpt. in Mythologies, 148-49.

318 "Magic," 49. In Symbolism and Some Implications of the Symbolic Approach, Robert O'Driscoll gives an excellent distillation of Yeats's approach to symbolism. See especially his first chapter, "The Nature of Symbolism" (9-19). O'Driscoll draws heavily on "The Symbolic System" in Vol. I of the Ellis/Yeats edition of The Works of William Blake (London, 1893). We know from his own testimony that Yeats wrote at least the first chapter of this section: in a letter to Katharine Tynan, June 27, 1891, Yeats states "I . . . wrote a very important essay called 'The necessity of symbolism' for the book on Blake and went through it with Ellis and made suggested alterations" (Letters, 170). O'Driscoll says that the manuscripts extant prove that almost all "The Symbolic System" was written by Yeats (O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 10).

319 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 13, quoting Yeats, "William Blake and his Illustrations to the Divine Comedy," 117.

320 "Rosa Alchemica," 286.

321 Ibid., 287.

322 Ibid., 288.

323 Ibid., 287.

324 Ibid., 288. The dance with its "flame-like figures" foreshadows the more famous dance on the Byzantine dancing floor:

At midnight on the Emperor's pavement flit
 Flames that no faggot feeds, nor steel has lit,
 Nor storm disturbs, flames begotten of flame,
 Where blood-begotten spirits come
 And all complexities of fury leave,
 Dying into a dance,
 An agony of trance,
 An agony of flame that cannot singe a sleeve. (Poems, 498)

325 Despite Yeats's involvement in the Golden Dawn, a Rosicrucian order, Harry Goldgar attributes the rosicrucian aspect of his rose symbol to the influence of Axël. Referring to The Secret Rose stories, and "Out of the Rose" in particular, he writes:

Sans aucun doute, la Rose, ici symbolise pour Yeats la révélation mystérieuse de la divinité qui est achevée lorsque l'homme, par les pratiques ascétiques et l'initiation et la renonciation au monde, s'est rendu maître de son destin. La rose autrefois avait été pour Yeats un "symbole d'amour spirituel et de beauté suprême"; maintenant, après Axël, elle devient à peu près exclusivement un symbole de l'ordre régulier des Rose-Croix.

("Deux Dramaturges," 271; see also Goldgar, "Axël . . . et The Shadowy Waters," 570.)

326 The note is to the poems "Aedh pleads with the Elemental Powers," "Mongan thinks of his Past Greatness," "Aedh hears the Cry of the Sedge."

327 "Rosa Alchemica," 288, 269.

328 Ibid., 270.

329 Compare "The Adoration of the Magi" where the youngest of the three old Magi answers his brother's objection that "if there are many Immortals, there cannot be only one Immortal" with the observation that "it seems . . . that the names we are to take down are the names of one, so it must be that he can take many forms" (W.B. Yeats, "The Adoration of the Magi," in Mythologies, 314; unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from "The Adoration of the Magi" are taken from Mythologies).

330 Schuler, 41. Yeats was aware of Hermes's Tabula. He quotes a version of this phrase in the opening to his essay "Symbolism in Painting" (146) and refers to another section of the work at the close of "Emotion of Multitude": "Did not the Egyptian carve it on emerald that all living things have the sun for father and the moon for mother, and has it not been said that a man of genius takes the most after his mother?" (in Essays and Introductions, 216). This is an allusion to the following passage in the Tabula:

toutes Choses se sont faites d'un Seul, par la
Médiation d'un Seul: Ainsi Toutes Choses sont
Nées de cette même unique Chose, par Adaptation.

Le Soleil est son Père; la Lune est sa Mère;
le Vent l'a porté dans son Ventre; la Terre est
sa Nourrice. (Quoted in Jollivet-Castelot, 1.)

331 "Rosa Alchemica," 275. Mary chose the rose as her special flower and is thus among the immortals who appear to the narrator in a vision.

332 Ellis and Yeats, Blake, I, 402; quoted in Druid Craft, 17.

333 "Rosa Alchemica," 288. Compare Hanrahan's invocation of Cleena in "The Book of the Great Dhoul and Hanrahan the Red." One of the central images in "The Wanderings of Oisín" is the "wild and sudden dance" of the Danaans who thus celebrate their immortality and mock "at Time and Fate and Chance" (Poems, 20).

334 See Poems, 169 and The Secret Rose, 145-46. Goldgar terms this Yeatsian eclecticism "cette fusion curieuse (ou, peut-être, cette mauvaise interprétation) des symboles." He attributes the eclecticism to a desire to reconcile rosicrucian doctrine with Christianity, particularly that of the Catholic Church ("Deux Dramaturges," 271). Goldgar bases his conclusion on part of the final sentence of "The Happiest of the Poets," Yeats's essay on William Morris: "'la réconciliation dernière lorsque sur la Croix fleuriront les roses.'" (See Essays and Introductions, 64: "the last reconciliation when the Cross shall blossom with roses.") Concerning the rose as the dwelling place of the gods, compare "Out of the Rose" where the rose is the "Divine Rose of Intellectual Flame" and "the Kingdom of God . . . is in the Heart of the Rose" (The Secret Rose, 157, 163).

335 We should recall that in "The Trembling of the Veil" Yeats confessed with some hyperbole that "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam had shaped whatever in my Rosa Alchemica Pater had not shaped" (Autobiographies, 320-21).

336 "Rosa Alchemica," 287, 289, 288.

337 *Ibid.*, 289.

338 *Ibid.*, 288, 277, 290. Compare the Leanhaun Shee whose "lovers waste away, for she lives on their life" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 385). We have already seen that Villiers portrays Sara as a death-dealing force. She tells Axël at one point, "Je crois me souvenir d'avoir fait tomber des anges. Hélas! des fleurs et des enfants sont morts de mon ombre" (Axël, 237). Like Yeats's immortal dancer, Sara is also associated with lilies, for she is surrounded with them in the convent ceremony of Part I, and Axël calls

her his "liliale épousée" (Axël, 258). It seems possible, then, that Yeats had Sara in mind when he wrote this passage of "Rosa Alchemica." Significantly, in the review of Axël for The Bookman, it is around "Medusa-like" Sara and not Axël that Yeats's plot summary revolves ("A Symbolical Drama," 324). Yeats quotes Verlaine's description of "a type of woman common in the works of Villiers De L'isle Adam [sic]": "Villiers conjures up the spectre of a mysterious woman, a queen of pride, who is mournful and fierce as the night when it still lingers though the dawn is beginning, with reflections of blood and of gold upon her soul and her beauty" ("A Symbolical Drama," 323; the passage is found in "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Les Poètes maudits in Oeuvres en prose complètes, ed. Jacques Borel [Paris: Gallimard, c1972], 683).

339 "Rosa Alchemica," 290.

340 "Rosa Alchemica," The Savoy, 56. In later editions they merely come to a "tragic end" ("Rosa Alchemica," 267).

341 Schuler, 42.

342 "Rosa Alchemica," 281.

343 Yeats's use of rose symbolism has been discussed in a number of places, including Ellmann, Identity, 64-76; Parks, 30-48; and O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 50-52. Parks discusses Villiers's influence upon the development of Yeats's rose symbol.

344 The narrator says Robartes' sleeping face seems "more like a mask than a face" and that the faces of the dancers who lie in exhausted sleep are "like hollow masks" ("Rosa Alchemica," 279, 290).

345 Ibid., 306.

346 Finneran, Prose, 20.

347 "Rosa Alchemica," 286-87. Yeats uses the image of the mortal as mask of the spiritual world in a number of places. In The Speckled Bird, for instance, Michael awakes one night

to hear his own voice speaking through his lips,
but as if it were another's voice, and saying
"We make an image of him who sleeps and it is
not him who sleeps, though it is like him who
sleeps, and we call it Emmanuel." It seemed to

him, as the voice spoke, that his body had become in some strange way impersonal and magical, like an image in a tomb, and, in the half-dream thoughts that followed waking, this image connected itself in his imagination with the image made of shavings or of a block of wood which the faeries left, in the stories, instead of the mortal they had carried away. (The Speckled Bird, 30)

In a footnote to this passage, the editor, William H. O'Donnell, calls attention to the passages in the first draft of Yeats's autobiography, and in the second edition of A Vision, in which Yeats relates Michael's experience as his own (see Memoirs, ed. Denis Donoghue [London: Macmillan, 1972], 126 and A Vision, 233). O'Donnell also points out that

Spirits make use of a mortal's voice three times in Yeats's 1897 story "The Adoration of the Magi" and in two later poems, "Solomon and the Witch" (1919) and "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid" (1924). The narrator of Yeats's story "Rosa Alchemica" (1896) has a dream in which he becomes a mask to be used by spirits. (The Speckled Bird, 30-31n)

Gould draws attention to Yeats's use of the image of the mask in "Rosa Alchemica" and "The Tables of the Law" and comments that he has not found any prior use of the image in Yeats's works (Gould, 283; see "Rosa Alchemica," 279, 286-87 and "The Tables of the Law," 303).

³⁴⁸ Ellmann (The Man and the Masks, 82-83) and those who, like Robert M. Schuler, follow his example, see Owen Aherne as the narrator of "Rosa Alchemica." When "The Tables of the Law" and "The Adoration of the Magi" are examined, however, it becomes clear, as Finneran observes (Prose, 35 n34), that Aherne is not the narrator. The narrator of all three stories is the same anonymous person. His character is consistent throughout and quite different from that of Aherne, who appears in person in the second story and by allusion in the third. In "The Tables of the Law" the narrator mentions "the terrible destiny of Michael Robartes, and his brotherhood," and the fact that he himself has been "half initiated into the Order of the Alchemical Rose" (in Mythologies, 303, 306; unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from "The Tables of the Law" are taken from Mythologies). This is the subject matter of "Rosa Alchemica," which could not, therefore, have been narrated by Aherne who is "more happy" than the narrator because he has not undergone that initiation and thus does not experience the troubling vision the narrator sees ("The Tables of the Law," 306).

349 "The Tables of the Law," 293-95. Warwick Gould discusses the real-life sources of the character Owen Aherne. Among these sources he includes Lionel Johnson, John O'Leary, and John and Maurice Aherne. Gould draws attention to several other Yeatsian characters with similar names: the Herne brothers in "The Rose of Shadow," first published in 1894; the Hearne brothers in "The Cradles of Gold," published in 1896; Michael Hearne of The Speckled Bird. Gould also notes the relationship between "Aherne" and "heron," and remarks that the herons and the various "'Herne' characters . . . have the potential for other-worldly experience and illumination, but are condemned by fate to live on the margin between two worlds" (Gould, 273).

350 "The Tables of the Law," 293.

351 Ibid., 293, 294.

352 Ibid., 294.

353 Ibid.

354 Ibid., 294, 300-01.

355 Mallarmé, "Le Livre," 378.

356 "The Tables of the Law," 301, 303.

357 Ibid., 305-06.

358 W.B. Yeats, "The Tables of the Law," in The Secret Rose. Rosa Alchemica. The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi. John Sherman and Dhoya, The Collected Works in Verse and Prose, Vol. VII (Stratford-on-Avon: Bullen, 1908), 154-55.

359 "The Adoration of the Magi," 309.

360 Ibid., 309.

361 Ibid.

362 See "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid," Poems, 460-70; A Vision 8ff; Stories of Michael Robartes and His Friends, in A Vision, 35-44; "Leda and the Swan," Poems, 441; "Two Songs from a Play," Poems, 437; "The Mother of of God," Poems, 499. Unless otherwise indicated, all

quotations from Stories of Michael Robartes and his Friends are taken from the text in A Vision.

363 This last characteristic, that of ignorance, is less marked in the woman of "The Adoration of the Magi" than in the later women, but it is hinted at nonetheless. In the early editions there are suggestions that she is not in complete possession of her faculties. Later in revision Yeats made the woman's lack of control a little clearer. See "The Adoration of the Magi," in The Tables of the Law and The Adoration of the Magi (London: Elkin Mathews, 1904), 56; and in Mythologies, 314.

364 Compare Denise de L'Isle Adam, whose profession is love, and Mary Bell, whose relationship with John Bond is adulterous (Michael Robartes and his Friends).

365 "Adoration of the Magi" (1904), 53.

366 "Adoration of the Magi," 310.

367 Ibid., 311.

368 Ibid., 312.

369 In their Notes to the critical edition of A Vision (1925), Harper and Hood discuss the unicorn:

The unicorn was a basic symbol of the [Golden Dawn]. Upon passing the examination for the Degree of 3 = 8 (Practicus), the aspirant assumed the symbolic title of monoceros de astris, which Father John translates as "the unicorn from the stars" in Yeats's play by that title [Plays, 659]. Yeats informed his sister Lolly in 1920 that "it is a private symbol belonging to my mystical order. . . . It is the soul" [Letters, 662]. In the [automatic script] for 31 May 1919 the Control informed Yeats that the unicorn was his Daimon. (Harper and Hood, Notes, 5)

370 Compare the "death-pale deer" of "Hanrahan laments because of his Wanderings" (The Wind Among the Reeds):

I would that the death-pale deer
Had come through the mountain side,
And trampled the mountain away,
And drunk up the murmuring tide;

For the winds that awakened the stars
 Are blowing through my blood. . . .
 (Poems, 171, var. 11.4a-6)

When this poem was revised and retitled "Maid Quiet" in Poems Lyri-
 cal and Narrative, in the first volume of The Collected Works in
 Verse and Prose (1908), these six lines were deleted. Yeats draws
 attention to the fact that the death-pale deer, like the boar with-
 out bristles is another of his "symbols of the end of all things"
 (Poems, 843). O'Driscoll discusses the use of images of apocalypse
 in Yeats's early work; O'Driscoll includes a study of both The
 Unicorn from the Stars and the first version of this play, Where
 There is Nothing there is God (see O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 58-75).

371 Jung, 471. Jung's discussion of the unicorn is on pages
 435-71.

372 In his 1922 farce, The Player Queen, Yeats uses the symbol
 in a similar way. Here the actor/poet Septimus announces "the end
 of the Christian Era, the coming of a New Dispensation, that of the
 New Adam, that of the Unicorn" (Plays, 745). On the unicorn, see
 also The Player Queen, Plays, 722, 724-6, 732, 749.

373 "The Adoration of the Magi," 312.

374 "Rosa Alchemica," 267-68.

375 "The Autumn of the Body," 192.

376 "Rosa Alchemica," 269, 270.

377 Ibid., 267. The narrator should be compared to Michael,
 the semi-autobiographical hero of The Speckled Bird. In the manu-
 script of the "Final" version of the novel, Michael tells Maclagan
 (who believes literally in the possibility of the transmutation of
 base metals into gold) that the old alchemical ideas "were nothing
 perhaps but symbols of the greatness of man and of man's intellect"
 (The Speckled Bird, 63). Later in the novel Michael has a falling
 out with Maclagan with whom he had been collaborating on the esta-
 blishment of an occult order. Maclagan writes to him to explain why
 they can no longer work together:

When I met you I accepted your idea of an order
 centering in the Grail castle, thinking it better
 than nothing, but as we worked on I more and more
 realized that a wide gulf divided us. You thought

all of forms--I of the inner substance. When I was thinking about the gathering into the order of ancient tradition, you were thinking of making it the foundation for patterns. I have come to recognize that you are not a magician, but some kind of an artist, and that the summum bonum itself, the potable gold of our masters, were less to you than some charm of colour, or some charm of words. (The Speckled Bird, 91-92)

In a note to himself referring to this passage, Yeats writes:

The difference of opinion about proper kind of symbolism between Michael and Maclagan must be accentuated. Maclagan had better be quite definitely a disciple of the Rosy Cross as that is embodied in the Fama. Michael should as definitely insist on the introduction of such a symbolism as will continue and make more precise the implicit symbolism in modern art and poetry. The antagonism must be made the antagonism between the poet and magician. (The Speckled Bird, 226)

Although Maclagan is obviously patterned on MacGregor Mathers, the antagonism between Michael and Maclagan, between poet and magician, is in some measure the antagonism between two parts of Yeats's own personality: that which, desiring to transmute life into art, seeks the artist's symbols, "metaphors for poetry" (A Vision, 8), and that which would like to believe literally in the transmutation of art into life because Yeats's experiments with magic seemed to indicate that, for example, thought does have an independent reality. O'Donnell studies the conflict within Yeats between magician and artist, concluding that Yeats's decision about these antithetical pulls within himself "was simply that no decision was possible, that he had no choice but to recognize the merits of materialistic art and anti-materialistic Adeptship" (O'Donnell, "Yeats as Adept," 61).

378 "The Autumn of the Body," 193.

379 Letters, 402.

380 Ibid.

381 O'Driscoll, Symbolism, 38; see also Robert O'Driscoll, "The Tables of the Law: A Critical Text," Yeats Studies: An International Journal, 1 (Bealtaine, 1971), 88-89.

382 "Rosa Alchemica," 269.

383 Ibid., 267, 278, 267.

384 Ibid., 273.

385 Ibid., 268-69.

386 Ibid., 276-77.

387 Ibid., 277.

388 Lévi, Dogme et rituel, I, 109. O'Donnell says "The narrator's timidity . . . is the central issue" in "Rosa Alchemica" and "The Tables of the Law." See "Yeats as Adept," 73-74.

389 "Tables of the Law," 295.

390 "Adoration of the Magi," 315.

391 "Rosa Alchemica," 278, 292, 280.

392 Tindall, 239.

393 See Parks, 89-129; Goldgar, "Deux Dramaturges," 183-94, 375-79; and Goldgar, "Axël . . . et The Shadowy Waters." Like Axël, The Shadowy Waters was a long time in gestation and underwent considerable revision during the course of its publishing history. According to Yeats's own evidence (see Autobiographies, 73-74), and the testimony of such friends and acquaintances as George Russell and Forrest Reid, Yeats had begun planning The Shadowy Waters by 1883 (when he was eighteen) and had written a version of the play about a year later. (See Forrest Reid, W.B. Yeats: A Critical Study [New York: Dodd, Mead, 1915], 108-09; and A.E., Song and its Fountains [New York, 1932], 11, quoted in Druid Craft, 4.)

Yeats wrote several very different versions before The Shadowy Waters was first published in the North American Review in May 1900. He revised the play slightly for its republication in book form later that year (see Poems, 745-69), and then reworked it completely for its inclusion in Poems 1899-1905 (London: Bullen, and Dublin: Maunsell, 1906). The new version contains only about forty lines of the old (see Poems, 220-52).

At this point Yeats recognized that The Shadowy Waters was not stageworthy as it stood, but he was unwilling to give up the direction the work had taken as poem. He thus began to publish The

Shadowy Waters in two parallel forms: as "dramatic poem" (based on the 1906 version) and as play. The first "acting version" appeared in 1907 and was reworked for publication again in 1911 (see Plays, 317-39). For its republication in Later Poems (London: Macmillan, 1922), Yeats revised the "dramatic poem" (1906 version) once more.

See Druid Craft for the writing and publishing history of The Shadowy Waters. The pre-1900 manuscripts are printed in Druid Craft, which also contains a detailed study of them. See Thomas Francis Parkinson, W.B. Yeats, Self-Critic: A Study of his Early Verse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 59-75, for a discussion of the revisions between the 1900 and 1905/1906 versions of The Shadowy Waters. Parkinson focusses especially on language in the work.

394 Druid Craft, 16.

395 W.B. Yeats, "A Symbolic Artist and the Coming of Symbolic Art," The Dome (Dec., 1898); rpt. in Uncollected Prose, II, 136. It is interesting that in Axël recurring images suggest this aspect of water: for example, "Je puis me laisser aller au courant de mes passions sans être entraîné par elles, comme un nageur dans un fleuve" (Axël, 203). And again, "Mon amour? Mes désirs?... Tu te perds en eux, comme si tu te baignais dans l'Océan" (Axël, 240).

396 Quoted in Druid Craft, 17. Besides Forgael, among those in Yeats's work who make this voyage are Almintor, Oisin, the speaker of "The Danaan Quicken Tree" and all others who cross to the Lake Isle of Innisfree.

397 See the two prefatory poems to The Shadowy Waters: "I walked among the Seven Woods of Coole" (Poems, 217-19), and "The Harp of Aengus" (Poems, 219-20).

398 Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal to the Land of the Living . . . by Kuno Meyer, with an Essay upon the Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld and the Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth by Alfred Nutt, Section I, The Happy Otherworld (London: 1895), 2, quoted in Druid Craft, 5.

399 Pauly compares the symbolic voyage of The Shadowy Waters with one found in Villiers's Elën:

Elen [sic], ce drame symbolique de Villiers
où l'amour, forme concrète de la soif humaine
de l'infini, ne doit pas, sous peine de crime
horrible, être consommé, car ce serrait souiller

irréremédiablement cette aspiration profonde, où les deux héros, la courtisane et l'étudiant, dans un rêve d'opium naviguent à la recherche de cet amour idéal, dans une barque, au sein d'un paysage de mort, peut être mis en parallèle avec The Shadowy Waters où Forgael, le roi-pirate des Océans, faisant voile vers une terre mythique, capture en mer une femme infiniment belle; Forgael ne peut répondre à l'amour de Dectora que lorsque, purifié de tout désir humain, cet amour devient 'a quest of love that is purely of the spirit'; uni dans cet idéal, le couple continue sa navigation symbolique. (Pauly, 28)

400 In a programme note to The Shadowy Waters, Yeats discusses the colour symbolism of the hounds: "it may be the dark hounds, red hounds, and light hounds correspond to the Tamas, Rajas and Sattva qualities of the Vedanta philosophy, or to the three colours of the Alchemists." (The note is from Inis Fail, No. 11 [Aug.] 1905, quoted in Druid Craft, 294.)

Ellmann interprets this statement as follows:

With the aid of Max Müller, who was probably the main source of Yeats's early knowledge of Vedanta, the passage may be glossed as meaning that the hounds symbolize thesis, antithesis, and reconciliation. As Müller puts it, "Tension between these qualities produces activity and struggle: equilibrium leads to temporary or final rest". In later life Yeats identified Tamas as darkness and exhaustion, Rajas as activity and passion, Sattva as brightness and wisdom. The three hounds signify, in terms of the play, Forgael's death-wish, Dectora's life-wish, and their fusion in "some mysterious transformation of the flesh". Yeats chooses hounds for his symbols to suggest pursuit, and their colours reflect their qualities--the dark being related to death, the red to life and passion, and the white with red ears to some kind of transmutative fusion of the two. (Identity, 81-82)

401 "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 90.

402 Still another explanation of Yeats's deer and hound is found on Poems, 806-07. It contains a passage almost identical to the one just quoted.

403 Forgael is a Sea-King, Yeats tells us in the note quoted earlier. In the 1900 edition his nobility is clearly implied since Aibric, his faithful follower, has "been a King/And spoken in the Council" (Poems, 748).

404 In the 1900 version Forgael cries out,

Masters of our dreams,
Why have you cloven me with a mortal love?
Pity these weeping eyes! (Poems, 768)

Compare Axël's comment to Sara, "Mes rêves connaissent une autre lumière!--Malheur à toi, puisque tu fus la tentatrice qui troublas par la magie de ta présence, leurs vieux espoirs" (Axël, 236).

405 The editors of Druid Craft concede that the struggle between Forgael and Dectora "owes much to the conflict of wills between Axël and Sara," but they point out that in the 1900 version of The Shadowy Waters "The underlying symbolism is caballistic (or Blakean) in origin and had occurred in work on the play before Yeats knew Axël: the union of Forgael and Dectora foreshadows the reunion of God and his Shekinah ["the feminine principle and abode of the soul"], the cessation of the primordial energy that was released by sexual division and created the world" (Druid Craft, 297, 33). The editors feel this "sense of an interpenetrating mystery, of . . . a cosmic action" is lost in the 1906 revision of the play (Druid Craft, 305).

406 Note that, as in Axël, the treasure is located in what might be construed as a womb symbol.

407 In his otherwise solid interpretation of the symbolism of gold and treasures in Villiers and Yeats, Parks overlooks their duality in Axël and The Shadowy Waters, insisting that they represent only "crass materialism" in these plays (see Parks, 194-95).

408 Compare Dectora's reference to Forgael: "O morning star,/ Trembling in the black heavens like a white fawn/Upon the misty border of the wood . . ." (Poems, 251).

409 See also Poems, 749-50. The editors of Druid Craft explain this passage as follows: "like Swedenborgian spirits, the gods wish to enjoy passions by inhabiting mortal bodies" (Druid Craft, 296).

410 See Jung, 230-31.

411 "A Symbolic Artist," 136.

412 The conclusion of The Shadowy Waters posed some difficulty for Yeats, as the ending of Axël did for Villiers. Although the published editions all finish with Dectora's going off with Forgael more or less of her own free will, in manuscript versions she is sometimes left behind, sometimes offered as sacrifice to the Fomoro, sometimes taken with Forgael while in a state of enchantment (see Druid Craft, passim). It is quite possible that the final form of the conclusion was chosen under the influence of Axël.

413 See Letters, 454 and Druid Craft, 305.

414 See the prefatory poem "The Harp of Aengus," Poems, 219-20.

415 James W. Flannery, 300. See Poems, 242-46.

416 In Druid Craft the editors discuss the revisions of the 1906 edition of The Shadowy Waters as replacing idealism with "a vein of cynicism" (Druid Craft, 305). They see the changes in the play centering on Aibric who as "a persona of the new skeptical and practical Yeats" comes "within a hairsbreadth" of being the protagonist (Druid Craft, 306).

417 "Symbolism in Painting," 146.

418 See the discussion of freedom and necessity in Axël in my Chapter One, 31-33.

419 Compare the passage in the 1900 edition in which Aibric uses almost the same image to describe the opposite situation: man's hunger after immortal love:

No man nor woman has loved otherwise
Than in brief longing and deceiving hope
And bodily tenderness; and he who longs
For happier love but finds unhappiness,
And falls among the dreams the drowsy gods
Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world
And then smooth out with ivory hands and sigh.
(Poems, 750)

The editors of Druid Craft observe that "Mirrors and their images are found in many forms throughout the genetic [manuscript] versions [of The Shadowy Waters] as symbols of the Danaan dream or the solipsism of Forgael" (Druid Craft, 27). They also note that the mirror is an

image from occult tradition, that it can be found in the Golden Dawn materials, in Boehme, and in Blake. (See Druid Craft, 27; Regardie I, 203; Ellis and Yeats, Blake, I, 246ff; Yeats "Symbolism in Painting," 152 and "First Principles," 151.) Grossman quotes a passage from Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim that links the mirror image with the Sidhe, via occult tradition and the association of the Sidhe and air:

[Air] is a vital spirit, passing through all beings, giving life and substance to all things, binding, moving and filling all things. . . . Also it receives into itself as it were a divine looking glass, the species of all things, as well as of all manner of speeches and retains them.

(Three Books of Occult Philosophy, ed. Whitehead [1898], bk I, chap. VI, 44, quoted in Grossman, 54-55.)

420 Moore, The Unicorn, xvi.

421 "William Blake and his Illustrations," 117. The vegetable glass is Blake's image. In Villiers's Tribulat Bonhomet, Césaire Lenoir discusses a particular instance of inverse correspondence of the microcosm to the macro, using the mirror image: "je suis, en tant que pensée, le miroir, la Réflexion des lois universelles, ou, selon l'expression des théologiens, 'je suis FAIT à l'image de Dieu!' --Comprendre, c'est le reflet de créer" (Tribulat Bonhomet, 124). A little earlier in the work Lenoir applies a related image to the whole of the sensible universe:

Je vois des attributs de forme, de couleur, de polarité, de pesanteur réunis: j'appelle bois, un certain agrégat de ces qualités. Mais ce qui soutient ces qualités,--la SUBSTANCE, enfin,--que ces attributs couvrent de leur voile, où est-elle?...--Entre vos deux sourcils! Et nulle part! Vous voyez bien que la "Matière" en soi, n'est pas sensible! ne se pénètre pas! ne se révèle pas, et que la "Substance" est un être purement intellectuel dont le Monde sensible n'est qu'une forme négative, un repoussé. (Tribulat Bonhomet, 120-21)

422 See Druid Craft, 28.

423 Ibid.

424 Olney, "The Esoteric Flower," 44. See the discussion of mosaic in my Chapter One, 61.

425 Quoted in Ellmann, Identity, 81. Ellmann says the note is for a July 9, 1905 performance of The Shadowy Waters at the Abbey Theatre, but the editors of Druid Craft say there apparently was no such performance, that the programme note is from Inis Fail, No. 11 [Aug.], 1905, and was for the July 8 performance (See Druid Craft, 302, 302n).

426 O'Donnell imagines Yeats's "glee when, late in life, he discovered a philosophically respectable precedent for his otherwise illogical insistence that both sides of [an] antinomy . . . are equally valid" ("Yeats as Adept," 78). This "respectable" precedent was Kant's antinomies.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹ The publication of Ross Chambers' L'Ange et l'automate: variations sur le mythe de l'actrice de Nerval à Proust, Archives des Lettres Modernes, 5, No. 128 (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1971), and of Deborah Conyngham's excellent study, Le Silence Eloquent: thèmes et structure de L'Eve future de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, are perhaps signs that L'Eve future is about to receive the serious scholarly consideration it deserves.

² Villiers had formulated at least part of the concept of L'Eve future as early as 1874, for in "La Machine à gloire," one of the Contes cruels published in that year, he mentions "Vingt Andréides sorties des ateliers d'Edison" and adds a footnote that these are "Automates électro-humains, donnant, grâce à l'ensemble des découvertes de la science moderne, l'illusion complète de l'Humanité" (Oeuvres complètes, II, 93, 93n). (A number of scholars, including Maria Deenen have pointed out that the word "andréide" does not exist in French. The correct form is "l'androïde" [m]. See, for example, Deenen, 142.) The presence of these androids in "La Machine à gloire" is a before-the-fact fulfillment of Edison's prophecy in L'Eve future: "nul doute qu'il ne se fabrique bientôt des milliers de substrats andréides comme celui-ci--et que le premier industriel venu n'ouvre une manufacture d'idéals!" (L'Eve, 284). In 1877 an even more precise reference to the work in progress appeared in "Le Traitement du Docteur Chavassus" which was also reprinted in Contes cruels (as "Le Traitement du Docteur Tristan"): "L'Eve-nouvelle, machine électro-humaine (presque une bête!...); offrant le clichage du premier amour,--par l'étonnant Thomas Alva Edison, l'ingénieur américain, le Papa du Phonographe" (Oeuvre complètes, II, 346). Drougard believes that the original conception of L'Eve future dates from somewhere between 1867 and 1870. (See E. Drougard, "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et Théophile Gautier," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, 39, No. 4 [oct.-déc., 1932], 517ff; and Deenen, 146.)

Although L'Eve future was not available in book form until 1886 when it was published by Brunhoff, it had appeared earlier in whole or in part in a number of periodicals. Under the title L'Eve nouvelle, the first book of the novel was serialized in fourteen parts in Le Gaulois, running almost daily from September 4, 1880, to September 18. Later that year L'Etoile Française began to publish it. With some confusion of chapter and installment numbers, almost all L'Eve nouvelle appeared in 46 parts between December 14, 1880 and February 4, 1881. The first complete publication of the work, reti-

tled L'Eve future, appeared in weekly installments (with a few interruptions) in La Vie Moderne from July 18, 1885 until March 27, 1886. (Le Succès had announced several times in May and June 1885 that it would be publishing L'Eve future, but gave up the project when Villiers kept delaying.) In an appendix to their 1957 edition of the novel, Joseph Bollery and P.-J. Castex describe its early publishing history in some detail ("Composition et publication de L'Eve future," in L'Eve future, ed. J[oseph] Bollery and P.-J. Castex, Le Musée Insolite n.p.: Le Club du Meilleur Livre, 1957 331-47). Bollery has also published some of the same information in "Documents Biographiques inédits sur Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, 56, No. 1 (jan.-mar., 1956), 39-41 and 41n. He points out that there are many important variations between L'Eve nouvelle and L'Eve future and refers the reader to E. Drougard's article in the July 1949 issue of the Bulletin du Bibliophile for a study of the less important variations between the Vie moderne and Brunhoff versions of L'Eve future (Bollery, "Documents," 41). Just after Brunhoff published the work, an extract, "L'Auxiliatrice," appeared in the May 13, 1886 issue of La Vogue (see Joseph Bollery Biblio-iconographie de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam [Paris: Mercure de France, 1939], 42). La Vie Populaire reprinted the whole novel between April 25 and November 7, 1889 (Bollery, Biblio-iconographie, 38). In 1890, L'Eve future was reissued in book form by a new publisher, Librairie Charpentier. The novel formed Volume I of the Mercure de France Oeuvres complètes (1914).

Villiers changed his mind about the title of his novel several times. It was originally L'Andréide paradoxale d'Edison (L'Eve 431n). Although Villiers began publishing it in September 1880 as L'Eve nouvelle, in February 1880 he referred to it in correspondence as L'Eve future (Correspondence, I, 277), the final title, which did not appear in print until 1885.

³ In Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: révélateur du verbe (Neuchâtel: Messeiller, n.d.), André Lebois writes that Villiers's work "affirme un surréel qui est l'univers poétique" (Lebois, 14). Alain Mercier points out that, although Villiers does not use the word "correspondance" in the same manner as Swedenborg, Baudelaire or the symbolists, his use anticipates the "intersignes" of such authors as Breton, Maeterlinck, Jarry and Apollinaire (Les Sources ésotériques et occultes de la poésie symboliste (1870-1914), Vol. I, Le Symbolisme français [Paris: Nizet, 1969], 155). In a short piece which appeared in the issue of Le Goéland devoted to Villiers and Charles Cros (3, No. 35 [1 août, 1938], 1), Théophile Briant draws attention to Villiers's important role as precursor: "Tout le monde lui doit, depuis certains romanciers académiques qui ont puisé dans le fonds Villiers le meilleur de leur inspiration jusqu'aux surréalistes, qui ont filtré fort habilement les innombrables richesses qui grouillent dans cette oeuvre." Deenen also links Villiers with the surrealists

because of the obsession with "le merveilleux" (see, for example, Deenen, 9-10). Villiers's relation to futurism and surrealism deserves detailed study.

⁴ Maria Deenen says that Villiers loves science (Deenen, 139); Henry Laujol that he regards it with "une haine de moine" ("Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Revue Politique et Littéraire: Revue Bleue, 3^e série, 44, No. 12 [21 sept., 1889], 364). E. de Rougemont insists Villiers is putting science on trial (Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: biographie et bibliographie [Paris: Mercure de France, 1910], 266); whereas Léon Bloy believes L'Eve future is "un hommage au grand ingénieur américain," Thomas Alva Edison (La Résurrection de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam [Paris: Champion/Blaisot, 1906]; rpt. in Vol. IV of Oeuvres de Léon Bloy, ed. Joseph Bollery et Jacques Petit [Paris: Mercure de France, 1965], 326).

⁵ Symons, "Villiers," Woman's World, 659. The tone of L'Eve future contributes to the difficulty of interpreting the novel. The light tone with which the book opens becomes serious, at times even brutal, especially in the sections which treat of the seductive powers of women. André Lebois writes about the tone of L'Eve future and Villiers's involvement in the story:

Villiers parle pourtant du ton, "léger s'il en fut", de L'Eve Future. Qu'est-ce à dire, sinon qu'en rédigeant son livre, Villiers s'est pris à cette histoire où son propre coeur était si cruellement engagé, et n'a plus gardé de ses railleuses intentions primitives que quelques fariboles mises dans la bouche de l'inventeur, à titre de couleur locale et d'humeur anglo-saxonne, probablement?
(Lebois, 199)

Although I agree with Lebois that Villiers does not always manage to maintain authorial distance from his work, I cannot concur with his judgment on Edison's "fariboles." The major portion of Deborah Cyngham's study is devoted to disputing the charge that any portion of L'Eve future is frivolous or superfluous. Approximately half the introduction to the Bollery and Castex edition of L'Eve future discusses what the editors feel were the reasons Villiers was "si cruellement engagé" in the work: they believe L'Eve future is founded on autobiography and related in part to Villiers's frustrated hopes to marry an English heiress, Anna Eyre Powells (see J[oseph] Bollery and P.-J. Castex, "Le Secret d'un grand livre," in L'Eve future, ed. J[oseph] Bollery and P.-J. Castex, 10-21). Miss Powells' name, at least, may have contributed to the names of two of the women in the novel: Annie (Any) Anderson and Alicia Clary. Pierre-Georges Castex treats L'Eve future as autobiography in his chapter on "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et sa cruauté" in Le Conte fantastique en France de Nodier à Maupassant (Paris: Corti, c1951), 345-64. Castex goes so far

as to see the disillusioned idealist, "le comte Celian Ewald," as an anagram for "le comte Villiers de l'Isle-Adam" because "Celian Ewald donne Wilie de liçle adan" (Castex, Conte fantastique, 364n)! Max Daireaux is also among the critics who attribute an autobiographical base to L'Eve future. (See Max Daireaux, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Temps et Visages [Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, c1936], 408).

⁶ Arthur Symons, The Symbolist Movement in Literature, rev. ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1958, c1919), 27.

⁷ See Raitt, 178.

⁸ E. de Rougemont, 266.

⁹ See Briant, "Villiers," 1; and Bornecque, "Villiers . . . martyr," lix.

¹⁰ Correspondance, I, 285.

¹¹ Ibid., 262-63. Quoted in part in Bornecque, "Villiers . . . martyr," lvii; and without ellipses in Bollery and Castex, "Le Secret," 8-9.

¹² Conyngham, 99. Conyngham goes on to agree with Christiaan J.C. van der Meulen's conclusion that Villiers opposes not science, but the religion of science, not material progress, but the idolatrous worship of perpetual progress (see Christiaan Johannes Cornelis van der Meulen, L'Idéalisme de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam [Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1925], 65).

¹³ A glance through the manuscript fragments included in the Appendix at the back of the Mercure de France edition of L'Eve future reveals the difficulty in determining whether Edison is speaking ironically in lauding the "great" achievements of modern civilization and science, or is speaking with the monstrous sincerity of a Tribulat Bonhomet. If the Edison of the fragments is serious, then Villiers completely reversed his attitude towards him in the final version. See, for example, L'Eve, 432-34.

¹⁴ See the opening chapters of L'Eve future, especially page 15. Like his author, Villiers's Edison delights in puns. See especially Book I, Chapter III. Conyngham stresses the significance of the play upon words to Villiers's philosophy. See Conyngham, *passim*, especially, 19-20.

¹⁵ See L'Eve future, Book VI, Chapter III. Although definitely

fictitious, Villiers's portrait of Edison is remarkably close to the truth, but in certain respects only. Edison's biographer, Robert Conot writes:

Edison's stories were droll and sometimes funny. He encouraged the press to inspect and write about his latest inventions. He spoke wittily and in the popular idiom. Superficially he was a reporter's delight. Yet he never allowed anyone to penetrate to the private Edison. His bonhomie and way with words obscured more than enlightened, and acted as a shield to keep the curious at bay.

Edison's life resembled a drama on which the curtain fell whenever a climax approached; and the world was left to wonder what had happened. . . . Edison . . . was a lusty, crusty, hard-driving opportunistic, and occasionally ruthless Midwesterner, whose Bunyanesque ambition for wealth was repeatedly subverted by his passion for invention. He was complex and contradictory, an ingenious electrician, chemist, and promoter, but a bumbling engineer and businessman. (Robert Conot, A Streak of Luck [New York: Seaview Books, cl979], xv, xvii)

Villiers's Edison probably owes as much or more to another inventor as he does to Thomas Alva Edison: Charles Cros (1842-1888). Cros was a close friend of Villiers. He was a scientist, an inventor, a painter, and a writer. Cros experimented with colour photography and actually invented a phonograph sometime before Edison (see Lebois, 189, 191). Lebois writes, "Cros avait . . . , aux yeux de Villiers, le mérite d'incarner une certaine science, dont la fantaisie même garantissait les possibilités dans le domaine poétique" (Lebois, 190). Like Villiers, Cros was interested in the occult and, Lebois remarks, "manquait de la gravité indispensable à qui veut être considéré," for he frequently took refuge in "l'humour et la blague colossale" (Lebois, 194). Lebois concludes that although his name is not mentioned in L'Eve future, "La dédicace Aux rêveurs aux railleurs! s'applique si bien à Charles Cros! On peut admettre que L'Eve future, inspirée par son invention, lui est personnellement dédiée" (Lebois, 195). Lebois devotes a chapter to the relationship between Villiers and Cros: "Prélude à L'Eve future: l'amitié de Charles Cros," 189-95.

¹⁶ See the incident about the train (L'Eve, 35-36).

¹⁷ See L'Eve future, 28-29.

¹⁸ Compare "La Machine à gloire," 77-97.

¹⁹ See Jung, 109, figure 51.

²⁰ F.T. Flahiff, "Labyrinth: Some Notes on the Crafty Art of of Daedalus," White Pelican, 3, No. 1 (Winter, 1973), 16. Villiers's Edison is a Daedalus figure. Joseph Campbell's description of the ancient craftsman and inventor might have been written with "phonograph's papa" (L'Eve, 14) in mind:

For centuries Daedalus has represented the type of the artist-scientist: that curiously disinterested, almost diabolic human phenomenon, beyond the normal bounds of social judgment, dedicated to the morals not of his time but of his art. He is the hero of the way of thought--singlehearted, courageous, and full of faith that the truth, as he finds it, shall make us free. (The Hero with a Thousand Faces, 2nd ed., Bollingen Series 17 [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, c1949], 24)

²¹ Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, Alchemy: The Secret Art (London: Thames and Hudson, c1973), 9.

²² Although Edison has at least one child, in a reversal of the old saw about children, he is heard but not seen in the novel. A disembodied voice coming through the telephone and giving the impression "qu'un elfe invisible, caché dans l'air, répondait à un magicien" (L'Eve, 33), the child is but a very tenuous link with flesh and blood humanity. No mention is made of Edison's wife. The inventor has little contact with the world outside his laboratory. He communicates with it only when necessary, and then through the mechanical veil of pre-recorded messages played over the telephone, "car il dédaigne le plus possible de parler lui-même, excepté à lui-même" (L'Eve, 30). Edison's is the inverted, subjective world of the artist. Conyngham writes of his isolation and his deliberate use of instruments of communication as means of separating himself from the world. See Conyngham, 25-26.

²³ Conyngham contrasts Edison's science with that of the positivists:

La science dans L'Eve future est la science idéale d'une philosophie positive et non positiviste.

Les positivistes veulent réduire le mystère et la suggestivité de l'univers, de la nature, par leur manipulation de la science. Edison, par contre, cherche à augmenter ces qualités significatives du monde qui l'entoure. (Conyngham, 100)

²⁴ Eliane Maingot, Les Automates ([Paris]: Hachette, c1959), 6. Although it focusses on the automaton as toy, brief as it is (95 pages), Maingot's little history is very interesting. It contains a wealth of plates (many of them in colour), and a short bibliography.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 6-8.

²⁷ See also the manuscript fragment of L'Eve future, Appendix, 445.

²⁸ Michelet, 66. Deenen (142-43) mentions a number of important precursors of Villiers's android, both real and apocrophal. See L'Eve future, 121-22, for Edison's attitude to the automata which preceded his Hadaly. In his Introductory Essay to Three Gothic Novels (which includes Mary Shelley's Frankenstein), Mario Praz points to the strong eighteenth-century interest in the artificial creation of life, listing literary and scientific experiments in the field. See Mario Praz, Introductory Essay, in Three Gothic Novels, ed. Peter Fairclough (Harmondsworth, Mddx.: Penguin, 1968), 27-31. The most famous instance of the homunculus in literature is in Act II of Goethe's Faust, Part II. After he has been produced by Wagner in the alembic ("born but half in some prodigious way"), Homunculus seeks to "be corporated" fully in human form (Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Faust: A Tragedy, trans. Walter Arndt, ed. Cyrus Hamlin, Norton Critical Edition [New York: Norton, c1976], 208; unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Faust are from this edition). Both Thales and Proteus inform Homunculus that he must move through what Cyrus Hamlin describes as "a process of organic evolution through stages of metamorphosis" (Faust, 210 n5). It is natural that Proteus, a shape-shifting seagod, should tell Homunculus,

In the broad sea you must begin it!
There first the tiny way you try,
The tiniest life contently chewing,
Thus you grow larger by and by
And shape yourself for higher doing.
(Faust, 208)

Since the alchemist's aim, as we saw in Chapter One, is to speed up the natural processes, the "thousand, countless thousand forms" (Faust, 210) of which Thales speaks is rather more than they might wish the subject of their Grand Oeuvre to move through; still the alchemists would approve of the evolutionary perspective of existence taken by Proteus and Thales. Raitt discusses Villiers's fascination with the Faust motif (see Raitt, 196-200). He concludes that

"L'Eve future est l'aboutissement de ses méditations sur ce thème qui n'a jamais cessé de l'obséder" (Raitt, 196).

²⁹ Piobb, II, 373. Piobb suggests that the ancient Egyptian custom of incestuous marriages between royal brothers and sisters was an application of the alchemical formula for the production of the homunculus, and that the Pharohs "suivaient, sans trop les comprendre, des traditions initiatiques . . . , pour avoir un 'enfant supérieur à ses parents'" (Piobb, II, 375).

³⁰ For details of Hadaly's construction, see especially Book VI.

³¹ See especially Book VI, Chapter III. Mercury is, of course, actually used in various kinds of electrical equipment, including certain switches, lamps, and arcs. Edison locates Hadaly's domain "dans la foudre," and says she must be an angel, "si, comme l'enseigne notre Théologie, les anges ne sont que feu et lumière!" (L'Eve, 147, 278).

³² Lévi, Dogme et rituel, II, 252. See also Drougard, "Villiers . . . et Eliphas Lévi," 529.

³³ Lévi, La Clef, 196.

³⁴ Lévi, La Clef, 206-07. See also *ibid.*, 116, 212-13, 233-35; and Dogme et rituel, II, 165-69. Aleister Crowley calls Lévi's deciphering of the qabalistic/alchemical secret a "joke" in which "Lévi indicates that he really knew the Great Arcanum; but only those who also possess it can recognize it, and enjoy the joke" (Eliphas Lévi, The Key of the Mysteries, trans. Aleister Crowley [1959; rpt. New York: Weiser, 1970], 141n). Lévi and Villiers are not the only writers to connect alchemy with electricity. As Goethe's Homunculus struggles into existence,

In the alembic's inmost member
A glow is lit like living ember,
Yes--like a glorious jewel's spark
It shoots its flashes through the dark!
A glare of dazzling white is sent! (Faust, 172)

In Part II of Strindberg's trilogy, To Damascus (1898), the Stranger conducts an alchemical quest that involves electrical experiments.

³⁵ Piobb, II, 375.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

37 Jollivet-Castelot, 18, 20.

38 Ibid., 18.

39 In the same passage in which he says Hadaly must be an angel if it is true that angels are fire and light, Edison hints at Hadaly's "neuter-ness": "N'est-ce pas le baron de Swédenborg qui se permet, même, d'ajouter qu'ils[les anges] sont 'hermaphrodites et stériles'?" (L'Eve, 278). In an unpublished manuscript fragment it is Hadaly herself who establishes her link with the angels. Speaking to Ewald she says,

Tu penses peut-être à des enfants?... Ecoute! je ne serai pas jalouse, si c'est pour avoir des enfants que tu me trahis jamais! Car je ne puis exister un peu que parmi les anges, et les anges sont hermaphrodites et stériles, et je sais que l'amour que j'inspire n'a que faire des saintes conventions de la nature!... (L'Eve, 466)

40 Edison says, "Hadaly, extérieure, n'est que la conséquence de l'intellectuelle Hadaly dont elle fut précédée en mon esprit" (L'Eve, 197).

41 To counteract any tendency that his readers might have to view the negative component of life as insignificant, Villiers stresses its importance. Edison delivers a brief diatribe on the subject to Ewald:

Le Néant! mais c'est chose si utile que Dieu lui-même ne dédaigna pas d'y recourir pour en tirer le monde: et l'on s'en aperçoit assez tous les jours. Sans le Néant, Dieu déclare, implicitement, qu'il lui eût été presque impossible de créer le Devenir des choses. Nous ne sommes qu'un "n'étant plus" perpétuel. Le Néant, c'est la Matière-négative, sine qua non, occasionnelle, sans laquelle nous ne serions pas ici à causer, ce soir. (L'Eve, 148-49)

42 Castex, Conte fantastique, 363.

43 Compare T.S. Eliot's famous image of the catalyst which provides an analogy for the impersonality of the poet ("Tradition and the Individual Talent," 54). In her discussion of Edison's laboratory, Conyngham draws attention especially to the different types of lighting under which we see the laboratory. She concludes not only

that the successive changes represent a chronological history of lighting from natural sunlight to artificial gas lighting and electricity, but that this history in turn reflects the progressive withdrawal of the divine creative light from man and man's subsequent reliance on the illumination of his own inventiveness (Conyngham, 109-12).

⁴⁴ In saying that the divine Word only wrote once, Edison is thinking of John 8:6 when the scribes and pharisees confront Jesus with the woman taken in adultery, hoping to trap him into a statement against the Mosaic law. "But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not" (King James version).

⁴⁵ Villiers, "Les Expériences du Dr. Crookes," in L'Amour suprême, in Vol. V of Oeuvres complètes, 172, 173. Like Villiers, Yeats took an interest in Sir William Crookes's work. In the introduction to The Resurrection published in Wheels and Butterflies (1934), for instance, Yeats mentions reading Crookes's Studies in Psychical Research (see Plays, 935; and also Plays, 571).

⁴⁶ Although it is a "spirit-photo" of Yeats, and not strictly a photograph of the odic light, Plate I in Harper's Yeats and the Occult (opposite page 122) is an interesting example of related research. In this photo a luminous disembodied head floats above that of Yeats. Yeats read Baron von Reichenbach's work on the odic force, Physico-physiological Researches on the Dynamics of Magnetism . . ., and incorporated references to it in The Speckled Bird (70), Autobiographies (90), and a footnote to Lady Gregory's Visions and Beliefs (quoted by O'Donnell in a note to The Speckled Bird, 70n).

⁴⁷ Jollivet-Castelot, 282-83. The quotation in the final paragraph is from Eliphas Lévi's Histoire de la magie.

⁴⁸ Villiers had a tendency to spell English names phonetically. Although Mistress Anderson's given name does occur in the novel as "Annie," the more frequent spelling is "Any." To avoid confusion with the adjective, I shall use the more common English spelling except when quoting Villiers directly.

⁴⁹ Raitt, 201.

⁵⁰ Gustave Kahn, "Le Roman chimérique," La Nouvelle Revue, N.S., 26, No. 104 (1 fév., 1904), 370.

⁵¹ Lévi, Dogme et rituel, II, 252-53. In a footnote to his translation of Dogme et rituel, A.E. Waite quarrels with Lévi's understanding of magnetism:

A magnetic subject in the experiments of Mesmer was not a subject possessed by an elementary spirit, and the form in which Lévi expresses his notion is little short of nonsense. If he means to affirm that elementary spirits took possession of magnetized subjects in operations of old Magic, the challenge against him would be to produce his evidence. There is none in the known records.

(Eliphas Lévi, Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual, trans. Arthur Edward Waite [1896; new ed., 1968; rpt. New York: Weiser, 1972], 332n.) Although he is not concerned with the subject of magnetism, Jollivet-Castelot agrees with Lévi that a prime component in the homunculus was the elemental spirit (Jollivet-Castelot, 305n).

⁵² Raitt, 196n.

⁵³ See this chapter, 250.

⁵⁴ Conyngham, 146. See L'Eve future, 382ff.

⁵⁵ See L'Eve future, 375ff, 398, 400, 415.

⁵⁶ Raitt, 202.

⁵⁷ Raitt writes, "Villiers proclame donc triomphalement sa conviction que le surnaturel échappera toujours à tout contrôle rationnel ou scientifique" (Raitt, 202).

⁵⁸ Note the constant references to the jewels worn by Hadaly; they are literally the "touchstones" that transform her from inanimate static mechanism to living dynamic being. (See especially, L'Eve, 161-66.)

⁵⁹ See L'Eve, 204.

⁶⁰ Emphasis mine. Contrast Hadaly's neuterness which is a positive feature, the result of a creative rather than destructive duality.

61 See L'Eve, 215ff.

62 Yeats, Fairy and Folk Tales, 76.

63 Bürgisser briefly discusses the attraction of opposites as "une autre loi de la nature humaine" (Bürgisser, 94).

64 Evelyn's surname is particularly fitting: Habal is Hebrew for vanity. Both Maria Deenen and André Lebois refer to Ecclesiastes: "Habal, habalim, vêk'kôl habal" (Deenen, 35n; Lebois, 204; see also Bürgisser, 96, 117). Edison quotes the passage early in the novel: "Vanité des vanités! tout est, bien décidément, vanité" (L'Eve, 47). Contrast Hadaly's name which, Edison tells us, is Iranian for "Ideal" (L'Eve, 152). Ross Chambers attributes to Mme. M. Maclean recognition of a visual pun on Hadaly and Habal: the reversal of "d" and "b" suggests the opposites of character contained within the names themselves ("ideal" and "vanity"). Chambers also notes the pun in English on "Evelyn" and "evil" (Chambers, L'Ange, 42).

65 See L'Eve, 214.

66 In L'Ange et l'automate Chambers points out that this view of women extends far beyond these two characters of Villiers's. It is an integral part of that aspect of the "poétique de la femme" (L'Ange, 74) which he terms "le mythe de l'actrice":

Ce parallèle, imposé aux poètes par le mythe de l'actrice, entre l'esthétique et l'érotique, sera un thème fondamental de l'étude qu'on va lire, car il est impliqué depuis toujours par le mythe de la Muse.

Ce mythe permet d'aller plus loin. L'identité qu'il suppose entre la femme et l'oeuvre d'art, entre objet aimé et objet esthétique, ne suggère-t-elle pas qu'à un niveau sans doute très profond la femme est prise comme une "création" de l'homme? Elle est créée par l'amour comme elle est créée par l'art, et peu importe que la création soit de type transcendant (Eurydice) ou immanent (Galatée). Dans la mesure où Eve paraît symboliser ainsi toute la créativité humaine, toute notre culture, il semble que le mythe de l'actrice doive faire pressentir une conclusion tant soit peu alarmante en ce qui concerne la "pathologie" social de l'homme moderne. (L'Ange, 20)

In "L'Automate: conte philosophique," Rémy de Gourmont presents a study of social pathology that is interesting in the present context. The cynicism of one of the characters, M. Laube, leads him to such statements as, "Infirmité humaine d'en revenir toujours à ratiociner sur les deux seuls êtres qui n'existent pas: la femme, Dieu!" "Dieu, c'est l'Inconscient, l'Infini automate"; and "La femme est un automate" ("L'Automate: conte philosophique," Revue Politique et Littéraire: Revue Bleue, 3^e série, 26, No. 4 [27 juillet, 1889], 167, 168). Woman is an automaton, Laube says, because she is soulless, a doll or toy made only for love and reproduction and having the reasoning powers of a machine. Laube's thesis becomes an obsession with his friend, Mérillon, who begins to find women revolting. He eventually goes mad, stabs his mistress to death and insists that he has done no wrong because he has merely killed an automaton.

⁶⁷ See L'Eve, 23.

⁶⁸ See L'Eve, 61. Compare the description of Margaret in Yeats's novel, The Speckled Bird:

She has seen at Rome, in her mother's house, wits and famous men gather about some beautiful woman and go away from her thinking it was she who had been beautiful and wise. Every word one says to her has its response in some note of sadness or merriment in her voice. Yes, she has mastered the subtle artifice of beauty. She can make her mind reflect everything that comes before it, and yet makes one believe, by making one more interested in the image than in the thought, that she has added to all one has told her some new and delightful thought. (The Speckled Bird, 23; see also 163)

⁶⁹ See L'Eve, 62.

⁷⁰ Piobb, II, 343.

⁷¹ See also L'Eve, 64-67, 72-77. Compare Yeats's poem, "The Hero, the Girl, and the Fool" (Poems, 447-49). The Girl concludes that we are all loved for an image someone has of us, and "That only God has loved us for ourselves" (Poems, 448; see also, "For Anne Gregory," Poems, 492). Conyngham quotes part of the passage from L'Eve future found on pages 135-36, concluding that

La réalité pour Lord Ewald est l'Illusion personnelle qu'il a déjà préférée à l'illusion décevante

et terrestre de la belle femme. Déjà, il remplace l'âme médiocre d'Alicia par une vérité idéale. Ce que propose Edison, c'est la séparation scientifique de l'âme et du corps pour donner à Lord Ewald l'occasion de "vivifier" l'ombre qu'il aime. Il s'agit de faire un double de la présence d'Alicia, sans sa médiocrité. (Conyngham, 64)

Knowles (179ff) and Deenen (155n) draw attention to Maurice Beaubourg's play, L'Image. Originally produced and published in 1894, it is an extended explication of the dominance of image or illusion over reality in L'Eve future. L'Image illustrates the tragic consequences which can result when pursuit of the ideal takes one "à ce point où l'illusion seule plaît" (L'Image [Paris: Ollendorff, 1894], 15). Marcel's obsession with the idealized image he has of his wife, Jeanne, makes her jealous of this image and leads him to reject and eventually murder the real woman as the illusion assumes greater and greater reality in both their minds and all but materializes on stage. Beaubourg acknowledges his debt to L'Eve future by referring to it in the opening scene. It is possible that Villiers's conte "Véra," may also have been an influence on the play.

Raitt devotes a chapter to "L'Illusionnisme" in Villiers's work. He quotes a passage from Isis in which Tullia ponders the strange love Wilhelm has for her and concludes that it will soon be a love for a "fantôme," for his subjective image of what she is, and not for the real Tullia. See Raitt, 255, and Isis, Vol. IX of Oeuvres complètes, 214-15.

⁷² Hadaly and Alicia, Sowana and Annie, are images of the double, two souls sharing one body. This is the converse of the situation underlying Yeats's "Anayusha and Vijaya" where two bodies share one soul. The two situations nonetheless illustrate basically the same tug-of-war between spiritual and material, subjective and objective.

⁷³ Ewald describes the completion of Edison's task as the accomplishment of "le grand Oeuvre, l'Idéal électrique" (L'Eve, 362).

⁷⁴ "Souvenir," 98.

⁷⁵ Jollivet-Castelot, 304n.

⁷⁶ "Tramer" is an interesting choice of word for it simultaneously evokes both an ancient and a modern craft of special significance in this context: Clotho's weaving, and photo-engraving. Compare Edison's "photosculpture," his use of "action photochromique"

to reproduce flesh tones, his use of printer's imagery in reference to Hadaly, and his interest in photography.

⁷⁷ Hadaly tells Ewald he must protect her from his reason (L'Eve, 384).

⁷⁸ Bürgisser describes Villiers's concept of love in terms of an encounter between the self and the other in which the self is projected into the love object:

l'amoureux, c'est celui qui porte dans son âme le sentiment vierge d'un amour sublime à venir. L'objet de ses désirs existe "prénatalement" dans son imagination, et il le revêt de toutes les beautés que les désirs de son âme lui inspirent. L'objet qu'il cherche n'est donc autre qu'une image intérieure, l'idée idéale qu'il se fait de la Femme, son anima, dirait-on aujourd'hui. Il s'agit donc, à la vérité, d'une partie de lui-même que l'homme cherche à réaliser dans l'objet de son amour. La femme qu'il choisit, c'est celle qui se conforme le plus à cette femme idéale qu'il porte dans son âme. Ce qu'il aime, dans cette femme choisie, ce n'est donc pas elle, l'autre, mais c'est sa propre image idéalisée qu'il a rêvée, c'est une partie de lui-même, c'est lui-même en réalité. L'autre, l'objet aimé, n'intervient et ne participe que dans la mesure où il se conforme à l'idéal formé par l'amoureux: c'est cette partie seule que l'amoureux en tient pour réelle, tout le reste, tout ce qui est vraiment "autre" chez l'autre, est rejeté, exclu.
(Bürgisser, 77)

⁷⁹ See L'Eve, 382 and Conyngham 94-95, 148-49.

⁸⁰ Compare Sara's recognition that neither she nor Axël will ever be able to escape the power of the other, and that, in particular, she is "inoublable" (Axël, 236-37).

⁸¹ Conyngham describes the unity Ewald will achieve with Hadaly:

C'est l'unité d'un seul esprit qui dialogue avec lui-même au moyen d'une femme-miroir. C'est l'unité qui ne peut jamais se rediviser, étant celle d'une seule conscience" (Conyngham, 89)

Conyngham goes on to quote the passage from L'Eve future in which Edison replies to Ewald's fear that to love Hadaly would be to love a zero:

Aimer zéro, dites-vous? Encore une fois, qu'importe, si vous êtes l'unité placée devant ce zéro, comme vous l'êtes, d'ores et déjà, devant tous les zéros de la vie--et si c'est, enfin, le seul qui ne vous désenchante ni ne vous trahisse? (L'Eve, 261-62; quoted in Conyngham, 90)

82 See Axël, 237, 270-71.

83 Note the implication of death and transcendence in the "senteur d'asphodèles," the flower of the underworld.

84 Conyngham, 149.

85 See Conyngham, 114-15. Chambers' monograph, L'Ange et l'automate touches on the "intersection de trois rêveries--sur la femme, sur le langage, sur le théâtre--[où] se situe le mythe de l'actrice" (Chambers, L'Ange, 75). Conyngham's chapter, "Le Masque, l'art de Villiers," (139-54) treats the themes of actress and theatre in L'Eve future.

86 See also L'Eve, 385.

87 On the importance of the limitless in Villiers's philosophy, see Bürgisser, *passim*, especially 23-34. We should bear in mind that Yeats praised Villiers, among other things, for embodying the quest after the ideal in impersonal characters, "persons from whom has fallen all even of personal characteristic except a thirst for that hour when all things shall pass away like a cloud, and a pride like that of the Magi following their star over many mountains" ("The Autumn of the Body," 190).

88 See also L'Eve, 377. A passage in the manuscript fragments of L'Eve future included in the Appendix to the *Mercure de France* edition, speaks more directly of Ewald's transcendence to "l'au-delà":

Ecoute, il faut que je [Hadaly] te dise! N'est-ce pas, c'est ma virginité qui te rend pâle? Mais, . . . elle est éternelle et tu garderas son reflet dans ton âme à travers l'illusion des années!.. Songe que si tu m'acceptes pour esclave, tu ne vieilliras plus, pas plus que moi!

Tu disparaîtras en ma beauté sans mourir, ô
mon amant! D'abord je ne veux pas que tu meurs!
tu n'en as plus le droit, m'ayant écoutée! Tu
ne mourras pas, te dis-je, tu ne mourras pas,
mais nous serons comme des Dieux, sachant le bien
et le mal. (L'Eve, 466)

89 See L'Eve, 133.

90 Fernand Clerget, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, La Vie Anecd-
tique et Pittoresque des Grands Ecrivains (Paris: Société des
Editions Louis-Michaud, n.d.), 143.

91 The scene in which we first meet Alicia, the physical mo-
del for Hadaly, includes a number of associations with the ideal
and the world of faery. Alicia herself wears a rose in her hair
and sparkles with diamonds (L'Eve, 328,333). When she sits down
with Edison and Ewald to eat "un souper de féerie" her place is
marked by a "touffe de boutons de roses thé, sertie comme par des
elfes" (L'Eve, 330, 331). The trio drink a toast and the atmos-
phere takes on a peculiar tone: "Une impression de solennité
secrète jusqu'à l'occulte flottait dans l'entrecroisement des
regards; tous trois étaient pâles; la grande aile du Silence passa
un instant sur eux" (L'Eve, 332). Villiers is setting the scene
for the transformation of the ideal from potential (Alicia) to
actual (Hadaly).

92 Raitt, 202.

93 Fairy and Folk Tales, 11, 287.

94 Jollivet-Castelot, 304-05n.

95 Ewald's family motto suggests he is a man above the mas-
ses: "Etiam si omnes, ego non" (L'Eve, 347): "Although everyone else
may, I will not."

96 See above, Chapter Two, 175ff. Conyngham comments on
part of this passage from L'Eve future: "C'est par l'imaginaire
('cette substance infinie') que l'En dedans, libéré même momenta-
nément de son esclavage à la raison, peut toucher enfin à l'Au-delà,
ou, plus exactement, en recevoir les véritables reflets" (Conyngham,
94). In his catechetical description of the "médiateur plastique"
formed from the astral light, Lévi provides a commentary on the
world of the crucible, relating it to magnetism:

R[éponse. L'homme . . .] a en lui une âme spirituelle, un corps matériel et un médiateur plastique. . . .

D[émande]. Donnez-nous quelques notions sur ce médiateur plastique.

R. Il est formé de lumière astrale ou terrestre et en transmet au corps humain la double aimantation. L'âme, en agissant sur cette lumière par ses volitions, peut la dissoudre ou la coaguler, la projeter ou l'attirer. Elle est le miroir de l'imagination et des rêves. Elle réagit sur le système nerveux, et produit ainsi les mouvements du corps. Cette lumière peut se dilater indéfiniment et communiquer ses images à des distances considérables, elle aimante les corps soumis à l'action de l'homme, et peut, en se resserrant, les attirer vers lui. Elle peut prendre toutes les formes évoquées par la pensée et, dans les coagulations passagères de sa partie rayonnante, apparaître aux yeux et offrir même une sorte de résistance au contact. . . .

D. Qu'est-ce que le magnétisme animal?

R. C'est l'action d'un médiateur plastique sur un autre pour dissoudre ou coaguler. En augmentant l'élasticité de la lumière vitale et sa force de projection, on l'envoie aussi loin qu'on veut et on la retire toute chargée d'images, mais il faut que cette opération soit favorisée par le sommeil du sujet, qu'on produit en coagulant davantage la partie fixe de son médiateur. (Lévi, La Clef, 110-12; see also La Clef, 115-16)

97 The role of the artificial arm in Edison's laboratory is very similar. Chambers sees the arm as the central symbol in L'Eve future (Chambers, L'Ange, 47). He feels it introduces the question of a connection between art and the occult: "Si loin d'être un simple support du rêve subjectif de l'homme, l'objet fabriqué par lui--bras artificiel, Andréide, signes de toute espèce--avait un mystérieux pouvoir médiumnique?" (L'Ange, 48). Conyngham describes the effect of the artificial arm: "Créé pour donner une sensation puissante et convaincante de vie, le bras finit par sembler attirer des messages de l'Au-delà" (Conyngham, 124). Conyngham devotes a chapter, "La Forme creuse" (121-37), to the structured vacuum that attracts an appropriate content.

Since "La nature a horreur du vide," then "Un vide doit être comblé, et un vide créé dans une forme particulière attirera un contenu d'une nature semblable, 'qui lui est homogène.' Mieux la forme vide sera définie, plus l'âme qui viendra comme réponse à cet appel d'air sera individuelle" (Conyngham, 132). Compare Yeats's discussion of the link between imagination and the occult spirits in the crucible of the Great Memory.

98 Conyngham describes this frontier region as "cette région liminaire où se touchent l'Au-delà et l'En dedans" (Conyngham, 146). She draws attention to the passage in L'Eve future in which Hadaly tells Ewald "Je suis, vers toi, l'envoyée de ces régions sans bornes dont l'Homme ne peut entrevoir les pâles frontières qu'entre certains songes et certains sommeils" (L'Eve, 383; quoted in Conyngham, 146n). Conyngham also quotes from Bürgisser concerning the twilight time between two worlds when man is in "cet état privilégié de la demi-veille, état auquel nous avons donné le nom de rêverie. Dans cet état, les entités subconscientes de la transcendance peuvent émerger à la superficie de la conscience" (Bürgisser, 29; quoted in Conyngham, 146n).

99 Compare Hanrahan's vision.

100 Edison uses this term in reference to the fixing of the divine voice in a sound recording, but it is perhaps even more appropriate to apply it to Hadaly, who incorporates the ideal as it appeals to all the senses.

101 Conyngham devotes the first chapter of her work to the study of "La Signification" in L'Eve future (Conyngham, 17-40). She sees the novel as Villiers's analysis of the problem of alienation from the divine in the post-lapsarian world, "un monde purement physique dépourvu de signification réelle" (Conyngham, 17). There is a split between sign and sense, between "extériorité" or the purely material and "intériorité" or "signification." L'Eve future suggests a close parallel between the natures of woman and language, both of which reflect

l'impression cruelle de pure extériorité que donne l'univers entier depuis le départ de Dieu. La présence de Dieu assurait la présence dans le monde physique d'une signification. Ainsi, le ciel, qui "signifiait" autrefois "Dieu" (car c'était là qu'il habitait), est vide maintenant, comme l'est "la forme déserte" de la femme. Ce qui manque à l'Eve transformée [la femme après la chute], c'est l'âme idéale qui, au commencement, l'avait animée. . . .

L'extériorité féminine, le corps, correspond aux vibrations physiques et extérieures de la parole; l'âme de la femme représente la signification de la parole, c'est-à-dire son intériorité. L'absence de l'élément non-physique, ou métaphysique, que ce soit âme ou sens, symbolise parfaitement la rupture dont il est question. (Conyngham, 17-18)

The question of parallels between life and language recurs throughout Conyngham's work.

102 Compare Tribulat Bonhomet, 154. Claire Lenoir asks about the "persistance de la personnalité" in life and death: "Où le moi est-il bien lui-même? Quand? A quelle HEURE de la vie? Votre moi de ce soir est-il celui qui sera demain? celui d'il y a cinquante ans? -- Non."

103 Ecclesiastes, 1:9. The theme of Ecclesiastes, with its cyclic return and "vain" monotony, runs as a motif throughout L'Eve future. We have already noted the link between Evelyn Habal and the Old Testament book. Compare the Yeatsian concept of recurrence embodied, for example, in "The Wanderings of Oisín," which Yeats himself describes as an allegory of "vain gaiety, vain battle, vain repose" (Poems, 629).

104 Compare Henri Clouard's description of the poet's role as magician: "Engagé parmi les ombres mouvantes auxquelles le vulgaire (et c'est nous tous) s'attache, il [le poète] les écarte, lui, il s'en délivre, il capte la vraie réalité promise aux privilégiés, puis, tout-puissant de magie, il l'embaume dans le charme des mots, enferme le trésor dans sa formule énigmatique, forge une clef unique et indestructible" (Histoire de la littérature française du symbolisme à nos jours, rev. ed. [Paris: Albin Michel 1947], 47).

105 Compare Yeats's description of those to whom the beings from the crucible relate: "Natural men, who are simple-minded and childlike, innocent and sincere" (Fairy and Folk Tales, 287).

106 Ross Chambers, "De grands yeux dans l'obscurité, regard scientifique et vision occulte dans Claire Lenoir et L'Eve Future," Australian Journal of French Studies, 9, No. 3 (Sept.-Dec., 1972), 309-10. Chambers draws distinctions as well as parallels between the two types of vision, noting that the medium's vision is natural and passive, whereas the technologically extended vision of

the scientist is artificial and active, even indiscreet (see Chambers, "De grands yeux," 311; see also Conyngham, 100).

107 Chambers, "De grands yeux," 321.

108 Tribulat Bonhomet, 201.

109 See *ibid.*, 203-04. Claire's husband, Césaire, who was "hanté par un cannibale!" had premonitions of his fate. See Tribulat Bonhomet, 104 and Chapter XIV, 156ff.

110 Conyngham points out that the grotesque and infernal nature of Claire's dying vision is a sign of her damnation for adultery: the indelible impression left on Claire's soul by her vision "équivalait à sa punition éternelle. Elle devra garder toujours cette vision horrible, comme d'autres [par exemple Guilhem Kerlis dans "Le Meilleur Amour"] auront une vision plus pure qui leur donnera la joie infinie" (Conyngham, 73, 73n). Compare Yeats's concept of purgatorial vision and re-enactment in the period between death and rebirth. See, for example, "The Soul in Judgment," 219-240 of A Vision; see also my Chapter Four, *passim*.

111 Tribulat Bonhomet, 204.

112 Chambers, "De grands yeux," 310.

113 Although her interpretation of their significance is rather different from mine, Conyngham also stresses the importance of the stars as theme in L'Eve future (see Conyngham, 37-39). She regards "la Voie lactée" as a play upon words, for the stars are a "voix" conveying a message to those who, like Hadaly, are able to look beyond the visible starlight to the hidden meaning. Like women and language, with their deceptive surfaces veiling corrupt or dead interiors, the stars "démontrent que l'extériorité continue à exister même si son sens est parti" (Conyngham, 37).

114 Compare Yeats's poems "The Mother of God" (Poems, 499) and "A Nativity" (Poems, 625). Images in these poems suggest Christ is the incarnation of an astral being begotten by the Word upon Mary. In a note to The Winding Stair and Other Poems Yeats explains,

In "The Mother of God" the words "a fallen flare through the hollow of an ear" are, I am told, obscure. I had in my memory Byzantine mosaic pictures of the Annunciation, which show a line drawn from a

star to the ear of the Virgin. She conceived of the Word, and therefore through the ear a star fell and was born. (Poems, 832)

The image in "A Nativity" is contained in the first two lines:

What woman hugs her infant there?
Another star has shot an ear. (Poems, 625)

115 Technology is not, of course, restricted to preserving the ideal, Eternal Beauty; it may be used to fix whatever the artist/technician desires to preserve. We have already seen that although Evelyn Habal, personification of evil and ugliness, is dead, Edison has captured her image and preserved it for posterity on a moving picture film.

116 Compare Yeats's golden form "set upon a golden bough" (Poems, 408), one of the few images in Yeats's work which might be seen to represent the felicitous wedding of art and technology.

117 In her discussion of the theatrical theme in L'Eve future, Conyngham comments that

Le parfait théâtre est dès lors le modèle de l'art. Le théâtre doit être le temps suspendu, "l'instant figé", défiant le changement physique. Edison veut transformer la vie en art; pour la première fois [avec l'andréide], l'humanité possède des moyens de cliquer les doubles des formes belles et changeantes, les sensations de l'instant de transparence, pour les répéter à jamais. La science aide à réaliser le rêve du dramaturge. Le double vide, la matière constante, le dialogue inscrit d'avance, l'isolement privilégié du monde intérieur et personnel, voilà un théâtre sans désillusion, le moment le plus révélateur de la vie [la plus belle heure de l'amour] traduit dans un contexte de permanence assurée. (Conyngham, 149)

118 Henri Clouard writes of L'Eve future that

. . . Hadaly, extraordinaire Andréide née en matière pure du cerveau de l'ingénieur et que pourtant le génie a dotée de la plus haute séduction non seulement du corps mais de l'âme, a consolé, enivré Lord Ewald, lui a rendu son ciel perdu...

Hélas, un naufrage engloutira cette suprême espérance; le voile de l'invisible, un instant soulevé, retombera. (Clouard, 34-35)

119 When Ewald denies being Prometheus, Edison informs him that "tout homme a nom Prométhée sans le savoir" (L'Eve, 135).

120 Raitt, 198-99.

121 Chambers, "De grands yeux," 324-25.

122 Raitt himself acknowledges that the Faustian element is much stronger in the early Etoile Française version than it is in later editions.. He judges the move away from Faust to be a flaw in the work which resulted from Villiers's attempts in the last few years of his life to eliminate from his writings all signs of heterodoxy. See Raitt, 200.

123 Cirlot, 6.

124 Conyngham draws attention to an article by André Lebois which I have not had an opportunity to examine: "En relisant L'Eve future de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," in La Revue de la Méditerranée, 19, No. 2-3 (mars-juin, 1950), 181-215. Lebois says that L'Eve future centres on a struggle between God and Satan and that the frequent allusions to Der Freischütz support his position. Like Raitt and Chambers, Lebois feels that the conclusion of the novel is a form of punishment for Edison and Ewald for having presumed to rival God in their attempt to create life. (See Conyngham, 107-09). Conyngham is only partly in agreement with Lebois:

La punition: tous les efforts de l'homme pour se tirer de sa condition déchue le révèlent comme déchu. Telle sera la conclusion nécessaire de L'Eve future, nous sommes d'accord avec Lebois sur ce point. Mais il est également vrai que dans l'élan vers l'Idéal permis par l'Eve nouvelle, si éphémère soit-il, l'homme semble enfin atteindre à des hauteurs inouïes. On a l'impression que Hadaly, une fois réveillée au château de Lord Ewald en Angleterre, aurait ouvert des perspectives sur l'Au-delà encore plus extraordinaires qu'elle ne l'avait déjà fait pendant sa courte existence. Ainsi L'Eve future possède ces deux traits caractéristiques de l'oeuvre satanique: elle s'achève par

un échec qui résulte d'une loi propre au genre, mais elle laisse tout de même ce soupçon dans l'esprit du lecteur que l'expérience en question était possible après tout, et que le "Fatum", loin d'être imposé par une logique sans défaut, est un peu trop despotique. (Conyngham, 108-09)

In the conclusion to her study, Conyngham sums up her position on the ending of L'Eve future:

La fin du roman est-elle une nouvelle rechute? Nous croyons que non, car Hadaly avait déjà laissé Lord Ewald entrevoir une réalité supérieure où il s'est reconnu. Sa mort, bien que triste, n'a pas été en vain. Nous sommes d'accord avec Bürgisser que Lord Ewald se suicidera après tout, mais que ce sera le suicide qu'il a déjà accepté en principe en préférant Hadaly au monde des vivants. Il mourra avec une vision de l'Au-delà et non le désespoir qu'Alicia lui avait inspiré. S'il est vrai qu'il faut mourir pour conserver la vision momentanée, il est également vrai qu'il ne faut pas mourir avant la vision, car c'est trop tôt. Hadaly est venue pour sauver Lord Ewald d'une mort prématurée qui lui aurait volé son destin infini. La mort sans la vision est une mort définitive. (Conyngham, 163)

125 Conyngham writes of Hadaly as uniting somewhat different aspects of past and future: "elle est l'Eve future, non création mais recréation selon un mythe [celui d'Eden]; elle représente ce passé, reformulé et projeté dans le futur: l'Andréide personnifie l'unité perdue et elle est pleine de promesses futures" (Conyngham, 14).

126 Conyngham draws attention to this passage which, she notes, illustrates "le côté de Villiers qui veut essayer la réalisation des rêves sur la terre quoique brièvement" (Conyngham, 38). See also Raitt, 259.

127 "The Autumn of the Body," 189-93.

128 See Conyngham, 25n.

129 See L'Eve, Book VII, Chapter III.

130 On the vertigo experienced by those who look into the unknown, see Emile Baumann, "L'Artificiel dans la littérature: Villiers de l'Isle Adam [sic]," La Minerve Française, 1 (1919), 815.

131 Conyngham, 149. Compare René Martineau's statement that "L'Eve future est une définition palpable de l'Art, de son but et de son charme" ("Victor-Emile Michelet et le premier comité Villiers," Bretagne, 17, No. 163 [août, 1938], 216).

132 Compare the origins of the word "symbol." The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology states that "symbol" is derived from the Greek symbolon meaning "mark, token, ticket, watchword, outward sign, covenant." The noun is related to the verb sumballein: "put together." When making contracts, the Greeks were in the habit of breaking coins in two and using the halves (the symbola) as tokens of the contract (see Norman Friedman, "Symbol," in Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. Alex Preminger [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965], 833; and Elder Olson, "A Dialogue on Symbolism," in Critics and Criticism Ancient and Modern, ed. R.S. Crane [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952], 571). There is, then, a material object with a certain intrinsic worth. The ordinary function of this object is temporarily disregarded, and its usual value greatly augmented, when it is used to betoken something other than itself. This other something we might qualify as non-material since, although a contract may involve, for example, significant sums of money, the pledge itself is not "concrete" except through its witnesses the half-coins. The word "betoken" is vital, for if the half-coin is not used as a token of something, it is not a symbolon, but merely a broken coin.

133 See Yeats, "The Moods," in Essays and Introductions, 195, and "Symbolism in Painting," 149. For convenience when discussing the symbol I shall use the terms image and mood for its material and immaterial components, although this is rather misleading because the use of two terms implies a dichotomy of the "two parts" of a symbol which is belied by its intrinsic unity. As we shall see, Hadaly is "UNE dualité," simultaneously image and mood.

134 Conyngham discusses the importance to Villiers of the physical, or exteriority, taking Bürgisser to task for denying its significance. See Conyngham, 150-54. In "The Symbolism of Poetry," Yeats declares that "an emotion does not exist, or does not become perceptible among us, till it has found its expression, in colour or in sound or in form, or in all of these" ("The Symbolism of Poetry," 157).

135 In "Symbolism in Painting" Yeats writes about a symbolist painter who had objected to the use of "a lily, or a rose, or a poppy . . . to express purity, or love, or sleep, because he thought such emblems were allegorical, and had their meaning by a traditional and not by a natural right." Yeats replied

that the rose, and the lily, and the poppy were so married, by their colour and their odour and their use, to love and purity and sleep, or to other symbols of love and purity and sleep, and had been so long a part of the imagination of the world, that a symbolist might use them to help out his meaning without becoming an allegorist. ("Symbolism in Painting," 147; emphasis mine)

136 Quoted in Conyngham, 144.

137 Suzanne K. Langer, Philosophy in a New Key (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 70.

138 Compare Yeats's statement that symbols "evoke an emotion which cannot be evoked by any other arrangement of colours and sounds and forms" ("The Symbolism of Poetry," 156).

139 After quoting this passage, Conyngham comments, "Il faut que Lord Ewald se soumette à cette mystérieuse réunion de son rêve et de l'absolu. Tous les masques superposés qu'il rencontre défient l'analyse de la raison" (Conyngham, 147).

140 See L'Eve, 105, 157. Compare "Peintures décoratives": "cette magique impression où la nature apparaît comme transfigurée par l'atmosphère idéale que l'Art seul peut répandre sur les choses" ("Peintures décoratives," 153).

141 "Peintures décoratives," 153.

142 Chambers notes that the role of Pygmalion, which we have seen Edison assigns to Ewald and all humanity, when transferred to the aesthetic sphere, leads to the conclusion that "c'est le lecteur qui est chargé de vivifier la création de l'auteur. Il serait plus juste, toutefois, de dire que pour Hadaly Pygmalion est un être double, que la création résulte ici de la collaboration de l'auteur et du lecteur" (L'Ange, 44-45; see also 46).

¹⁴³ See Conyngham, 21-22, 125, 130. Note Ewald's description of how Alicia perceives God:

elle a foi dans un Dieu d'une sublimité
éclairée, entendue--elle peuple son paradis
de martyrs qui n'exagèrent rien, d'élus hono-
rables, de saints compassés, de vierges prati-
ques, de chérubins convenables. Elle croit à
un ciel, mais à un ciel de dimensions rationnel-
les!--Son idéal serait un ciel terre à terre,
enfin, car le soleil même lui paraît trop dans
les nuages, "trop dans le bleu. (L'Eve, 86)

See also Villiers's comments on Tribulat Bonhomet's conception of God (Tribulat Bonhomet, 214), and compare the relativity expres-
sed in Yeats's early poem, "The Indian Upon God" (Poems, 76-77).

¹⁴⁴ "Peintures décoratives," 152. See also Appendice to Vol. XI of Oeuvres complètes: "Ceux-là qui ne portent pas en eux l'âme de tout ce que le monde peut leur montrer auront beau le regarder: ils ne le reconnaîtront pas, toute chose n'étant belle que selon la pensée de celui qui la regarde et la réfléchit en lui-même" (Oeuvres complètes, XI, 274).

¹⁴⁵ Gilbert Durand, L'Imagination symbolique, Initiation Philosophique (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 12.

¹⁴⁶ Conyngham notes that Hadaly's mystery comes in part from her multiplicity, which she associates with the versatility of the actress who can play all female roles. Hadaly does not wish to be limited to one particular role, Conyngham writes, because "elle préfère symboliser la Femme absolue. Elle perdrait son caractère tout particulier de signe [il vaut mieux dire "symbole"] si Lord Ewald voulait la limiter à une seule interprétation. Son sens symbolique est sa meilleure signification" (Conyngham, 147). Conyngham insists on the importance of mystery to Villiers's philosophy. When one meaning among several must be chosen, "On choisit donc le sens qui réduit le moins le mystère, la valeur suggestive et personnelle d'un phénomène ou d'un mot. Rien dans ce monde ne doit être le signifié. Tout doit se transformer en signifiant; l'univers devient par là une série de signes [symboles] qui mènent au moment le plus évocateur de l'Au-delà" (Conyngham, 51).

¹⁴⁷ See Suzanne K. Langer, Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art (New York: Scribner's, c1953), 31, 52, passim; and Philosophy in a New Key, passim.

¹⁴⁸ See Feeling and Form, passim, especially Part II, Chapters 4 and 13, 45-68, 208-57.

¹⁴⁹ See Owen Barfield, Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, c1964), 55.

¹⁵⁰ Note Ewald's phrase, "Autre style, autres sentiments" (L'Eve, 65). He gives a vivid demonstration of what he means in the two divergent pictures of Alicia presented through her own words, and through Ewald's "traduction" of those words. See L'Eve, Book I, Chapters XIII, XIV.

¹⁵¹ "Peintures décoratives," 152. Villiers goes on to make the distinction between the Beautiful and the Pretty which is implicit in the discussion of Alicia given on pages 81-82 of L'Eve future: "Le Beau n'a rien à faire avec le Joli, qui n'élève pas, qui ne grandit pas. On peut enfler les lignes du Joli, on n'obtiendra pas de lui la plénitude" ("Peintures décoratives," 152).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹ In The Imagination of an Insurrection: Dublin, Easter 1916 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), William Irwin Thompson ascribes Yeats's "unbelievable greatness" to the conflict of opposites within himself and to the dialectic process by which he came to terms with the conflict:

Few contemporary poets have been so deeply rooted in historical events, and those that have, have participated in actions that took them away from art. Yeats's amazing self-mastery (and, indeed, mastery of society) seems to have been the result of his dialectical method of experiencing the world. First he would immerse himself in action, and let it overwhelm him completely, then slowly he would reverse the process to have the Self completely envelop the Other and lift history up into the region of myth. Because he lived a myth, history became the myth in which he found himself. At first this dialectic was instinctive and unconscious, but in the introspection after the battles of 1913, Yeats attempted to articulate his own theory of personality. (Thompson, 151-52)

² Yeats tells us that Mrs. Yeats had read a fair amount of philosophy but that, despite her vital role in communicating the system, her reading had little influence on the development of A Vision. After he had read what he was able to obtain from the list his wife prepared of her own reading in philosophy, Yeats commented: "Although the more I read the better did I understand what I had been taught, I found neither the geometrical symbolism nor anything that could have inspired it except the vortex of Empedocles" (A Vision, 20). For a list of the works which influenced Yeats either directly or indirectly in writing A Vision (1925), see the Bibliography in A Critical Edition of Yeats's A Vision (1925), ed. George Mills Harper and Walter Kelly Hood, 87-92.

³ On Yeats's readings in history and biography, see A Vision, 12.

- ⁴ Thompson writes of Yeats's choice of Heart over Soul:

[Yeats] was not a dreamy Pre-Raphaelite, or a Buddhist or Christian saint; he was an artist concerned with the intellectual and imaginative transformation of material; he was a man of action, and the values of the warrior were most appropriate to his situation: nobility, strength, courage, and gentleness. He saw himself as Oisín, the man who journeyed out of time with the temptress, but returned to sing to a mob-ruled, priest-ridden world of the greatness of the people of Finn, the people of Burke, the people of Grattan, the people of Swift, of Berkeley, of Emmet, and of Parnell. At sixty-seven, Yeats could look back over all his poetry and say: "The swordsman throughout repudiates the saint, but not without vacillation. Is that perhaps the sole theme--Usheen and Patrick--...?" (Thompson, 151; Yeats quotation from Letters, 798)

- ⁵ See Judges 14.

⁶ A. Norman Jeffares, A Commentary on the Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats (London: Macmillan, 1968), 511.

⁷ In their Notes to A Vision (1925), Harper and Hood give the alchemical meaning of "tincture" as found in the OED: "a supposed spiritual principle or immaterial substance whose character or quality may be infused into material things, which are then said to be tintured; the quintessence, spirit, or soul of a thing" (quoted in Harper and Hood, Notes, 10).

⁸ Compare the description of the souls in the crucible given in Fairy and Folk Tales (Fairy and Folk Tales, 287). See above, Chapter Two, 94-95 and Chapter Three, 250-52. Compare also a passage in Strindberg's To Damascus. The stranger is experiencing on the individual level a cyclic evolution much like that described by Robartes. He explains to the Lady that, "I feel as if I lay hacked in pieces and were being slowly melted in Medea's cauldron. Either I shall be sent to the soap-boilers, or arise renewed from my own dripping! It depends on Medea's skill!" (To Damascus, 36).

- ⁹ Per Amica, 356-57.

¹⁰ Piobb, II, 341.

¹¹ Per Amica, 354.

¹² Tribulat Bonhomet, 202.

¹³ Piobb, II, 343; emphasis mine.

¹⁴ Helen Hennessy Vendler, Yeats's Vision and the Later Plays (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, c1963), 75.

¹⁵ See above Chapter One, 28-30.

¹⁶ Piobb, II, 364; emphasis mine.

¹⁷ Compare Per Amica, 354.

¹⁸ See Autobiographies, 378; Plays, 777-78. Compare the inverse correspondence of life in Tír-na-n-Og and mortal life.

¹⁹ See The Words upon the Window-Pane, in Plays, 944.

²⁰ The Thirteenth Cone, or Thirteenth Sphere as Yeats sometimes calls it, is numbered thirteen because in extending his system into ever-greater cycles or wheels, Yeats writes of a symbolical or ideal year divided into twelve cycles corresponding to months. The Thirteenth Cycle or Thirteenth Cone "may deliver us from the twelve cycles of time and space" (A Vision, 210). Within the phaseless sphere "live all souls that have been set free" of the Great Wheel of reincarnation (A Vision, 210). Yeats distinguishes between the phaseless sphere as seen by those who are in the condition of fire and by those who are still excluded from it, in the first case calling it, among other things, the Thirteenth Sphere, and in the second, the Thirteenth Cone or Cycle, or the Record. (See A Vision, 193, 210.) Because the distinguishing factor is perspective and not essence, and since Yeats seems inconsistent in his use of the terms, for convenience I use them interchangeably.

²¹ Vendler, 80.

²² See also Per Amica; for example, page 345. Yeats notes that these images in the Record "are in popular mysticism called 'the pictures in the astral light'" (A Vision, 193). In at least one instance (the notes to Michael Robartes and the Dancer, 1921), Yeats differentiates between Spiritus (or Anima) Mundi and "Record." The former is "a general store-house of images which have ceased to be a property of any personality or spirit" (Poems, 822); from Spiritus Mundi the images of our sleeping dreams are drawn. The "record" on the other hand, is "a kind of impersonal mirror . . . which takes much the same place in [Robartes'] system the lower strata of the astral light does among the disciples of Elephas Levi [sic]"; from the Record the images that come between sleeping and waking are drawn (Poems, 822). I use the term "record," as Yeats does in A Vision, as a synonym for the Anima Mundi or Great Memory.

²³ Vendler points out that "the period 'between lives' is not phasal, so the moon must be hidden" (Vendler, 190).

²⁴ See Plays, 777-78. Vendler remarks that Yeats's comments on the Meditation, whether by design or error, are particularly confusing. Among other inconsistencies, what I have treated as three separate stages in the Meditation are sometimes described by Yeats as three stages, sometimes as three different names for the same stage. See Vendler, 75-76.

²⁵ Diarmuid and Dervorgilla were first introduced in "The Vision of O'Sullivan the Red," the story that eventually became "Hanrahan's Vision" in Stories of Red Hanrahan.

²⁶ Vendler appeals to the earlier versions of Diarmuid and Dervorgilla's tale in the Hanrahan stories as authority for concluding that "the political overtones found in the play are incidental" and that the analogies with the contemporary Irish situation "are, if not irrelevant to the unraveling of the meaning of the play, at least not its central concern" (Vendler, 187). I feel she has underplayed the significance of the political side of the story. In the Hanrahan stories the lovers are condemned partly because of their crime against their country, but more because of their crime against perfect love: it was not the "beauty that is as lasting as the night and the stars" that they loved in each other, but merely the fleeting "blossom of the man and of the woman" (Stories of Red Hanrahan, 251). This aspect of their crime is not mentioned in The Dreaming of the Bones; Yeats is careful, however, to draw attention to their political crime by establishing parallels to it even before we know who they are. The

switch in emphasis is, I think, a significant one that indicates an increased interest on Yeats's part in issues of concern to a wider and more general public than he had been addressing in 1896 when he first published the Diarmuid and Dervorgilla story in "The Vision of O'Sullivan the Red."

²⁷ Vendler criticizes The Dreaming of the Bones because "there is no necessary connection between the lovers and the young man" (Vendler, 194). As will be obvious from my discussion, I disagree with her.

²⁸ Ibid., 190.

²⁹ See A Vision, 237-40.

³⁰ Since there is no direct evidence Yeats knew Villiers's novel L'Eve future, it may be simply a coincidence, but a rather interesting one, that the names of the spirit mediums in The Words upon the Window-Pane and in Villiers's novel are so similar: Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Anderson. It is possible, however, that Arthur Symons may have acquainted Yeats with Villiers's novel and highly probable that Yeats at least knew of it, for Symons refers to it in his articles on Villiers in The Woman's World, The Illustrated London News, and The Symbolist Movement in Literature.

³¹ Vendler remarks on the vampire-like quality of these Spirits and their similarity to the Leanhaun Shee. See Vendler, 80.

³² In the Hanrahan story, Yeats gives Dervorgilla, at least, a very different form, but one nonetheless appropriate to her sin. Because the Diarmuid and Dervorgilla Hanrahan meets loved only "the blossom of the man and of the woman" in each other, after death Diarmuid sees Dervorgilla "always as a body that has been a long time in the ground" (Stories of Red Hanrahan, 251).

³³ See A Vision, 235.

³⁴ There is also a third play in which the intercession of the living for the dead plays an important role: The Only Jealousy of Emer and its prose revision, Fighting the Waves. In this case the intercession is successful: Emer sacrifices Cuchulain's love and consequently he is returned from the dead.

³⁵ Vendler, 200.

³⁶ Compare the inverse correspondence between life in Tír-na-n-Og and on earth.

³⁷ Per Amica, 356. This is the union described in the first of the "Supernatural Songs": "Ribh at the Tomb of Baile and Ail-linn." See Poems, 555.

³⁸ Per Amica, 356; emphasis mine.

³⁹ Cirlot, 6.

⁴⁰ Vendler remarks that "the Purification . . . is familiar to us from 'Byzantium,' in which the soul breaks 'bitter furies of complexity'" (Vendler, 84).

⁴¹ Per Amica, 355.

⁴² Autobiographies, 457. In her study of A Vision, Vendler regards artistic creation as the "single theme" that Yeats claims for his system (A Vision, 5). In the first half of her work, she studies A Vision in detail from this perspective. Although it covers much of the same ground as Vendler's Chapter III, my study of the process of reincarnation as an image of artistic creation owes little to her work. I concur with Vendler that, to alter Yeats's phrase, A Vision gives metaphors of poetry, but I do not agree that it stops at that.

⁴³ In a letter written on October 4, 1930 to T. Sturge Moore, Yeats informs his friend that "Byzantium" "originates from a criticism of yours. You objected to the last verse of Sailing to Byzantium because a bird made by a goldsmith was just as natural as anything else. That showed me that the idea needed exposition" (Bridge, 164). Moore's letter, written April 16, 1930, is on page 162 of W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge Moore: Their Correspondence.

⁴⁴ In his note to "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid" published in The Dial, June 1924 and in The Cat and the Moon and Certain Poems (1924), Yeats quotes Heraclitus: "Mortals are Immortals and Immortals are Mortals, living the others' death and dying the others' life" (Poems, 829). Kathleen Raine devotes a monograph to the topic of reincarnation in Yeats's work: "Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death: 'Cuchulain Comforted' and 'News for the Delphic Oracle'."

- ⁴⁵ Ellis and Yeats, Blake, I, 254, quoted in F.A.C. Wilson, W.B. Yeats and Tradition, (n.p.: Victor Gollancz, 1958; rpt. University Paperbacks, London: Methuen, 1968), 241-42.
- ⁴⁶ Vendler, 77.
- ⁴⁷ Autobiographies, 332.
- ⁴⁸ See Per Amica, 356.
- ⁴⁹ On the image of the dancer, see especially Frank Kermode Romantic Image (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, c1957; rpt. New York: Vintage/Random House, n.d.), Chapter IV, 49-91.
- ⁵⁰ Luke 22:43.
- ⁵¹ W.B. Yeats, Letters on Poetry from W.B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley (London: Oxford University Press, 1940; rpt. Oxford Paperbacks, 1964), 8.
- ⁵² See The Herne's Egg, in Plays, 1029-30; "Leda and the Swan" and "The Mother of God," in Poems, 441, 499.
- ⁵³ Vendler, 85.
- ⁵⁴ Bridge, 162.
- ⁵⁵ Wilson, Tradition, 238.
- ⁵⁶ Compare the braying of the Old Beggar in The Player Queen; see, for example, Plays, 727-28.
- ⁵⁷ Vendler, 159.
- ⁵⁸ See Per Amica, 340, 361.
- ⁵⁹ Wilson, Tradition, 110.
- ⁶⁰ See A Vision, 239-40. Direct union with the god in his own form would result in Attracta's being consumed by his fire, as

Semele had the misfortune to learn (see Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book III).

⁶¹ See Per Amica, 340, 361.

⁶² Vendler, 87.

⁶³ Wilson, Tradition, 238.

⁶⁴ "The Thirteenth Cone or cycle . . . is in every man and called by every man his freedom" (A Vision, 302).

⁶⁵ Per Amica, 357.

⁶⁶ See A Vision, 214. In their Notes to A Critical Edition of Yeats's A Vision (1925), Harper and Hood remark that Yeats's automatic script

contains numerous discussions of Unity of Being, "a co-equality of Primary & Antithetical" (7 Oct 1921). Earlier Yeats had asked, "What is unity of being?" The control replied: "Complete harmony between physical body, intellect, & spiritual desire - all may be imperfect but if harmony is perfect it is unity". It "cannot exist before 15 or after 19" (3 Sept 1918). (Harper and Hood, Notes, 12)

⁶⁷ W.B. Yeats, "A General Introduction for my Work," in Essays and Introductions, 518; see also A Vision, 82.

⁶⁸ As Yeats reports, "the tradition is founded which declares even to our own day that Christ alone was exactly six feet high, perfect physical man" (A Vision, 273). In the card file used by Yeats to record and codify the experiments in automatic writing that were a source of A Vision there is a card entitled "'Initiate' ('the Perfect Man')"; Christ is the subject. See Harper and Hood, xxv.

⁶⁹ The Syrian's view is implied in the revised version of the play but stated explicitly, albeit in interrogative fashion, in the Adelphi text. See Plays, 926.

⁷⁰ See also A Vision, 68-69.

⁷¹ On Yeats's confusing use of "Daimon" to mean different things at different times, see Harper and Hood, Notes, 67-68 and Moore, The Unicorn, 287-8, 368.

⁷² Autobiographies, 272.

⁷³ In A Commentary on The Words upon the Window-Pane (Plays, 975) Yeats also associates the Daimon with dramatic power.

⁷⁴ Per Amica, 332.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 362.

⁷⁶ See above, Chapter Two, 183 and Chapter Three, 252-53.

⁷⁷ Per Amica, 346.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 336.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 332.

⁸³ Compare the role of illusion and image in L'Eve future.

⁸⁴ Autobiographies, 274n.

⁸⁵ See A Vision, 136.

⁸⁶ Autobiographies, 273.

⁸⁷ See also A Vision, 136.

⁸⁸ We should remember that in L'Eve future, although Hadaly, who is herself a particular incarnation of a universal (divine

beauty), is capable of abstract thought, she expresses her thoughts only through images.

89 See Axël, 192-93.

90 Per Amica, 357, 363.

91 Shirley C. Swartz points out that both Yeats and Arthur Symons use the dancer and the dance as images of Unity of Being, and that "Yeats equates the dance with the Great Wheel itself" ("The Imperial Self in Modern Autobiography: Stein, Lewis and Yeats," Diss. University of Alberta 1976, 246). She refers to the passage in A Vision where Yeats writes of having "described the Great Wheel as danced on the desert sands by mysterious dancers who left the traces of their feet to puzzle the Caliph of Bagdad and his learned men" (A Vision, 80-81). See also A Vision (1925), 9-10.

92 Per Amica, 347.

93 See "Ego Dominus Tuus," Poems, 367. The poem is also found in Per Amica, 321-24.

94 Ille is not the only character of Yeats to trace images in the sand: Kusta ben Luka's wife in "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid" (Poems, 468) and the "Judwalis or Diagrammatists" of A Vision (A Vision, 41, and A Vision, 1925, 10) make marks in the sands. The sands of time are also important in such early poems and stories as "Dhoya," "The Wanderings of Oisín," "The Song of the Happy Shepherd," "The Sad Shepherd."

The image of drawing in sand brings up interesting parallels with Strindberg's play, The Road to Damascus. "Ego Dominus Tuus" appears in Per Amica Silentia Lunae. In the epilogue to this work, Yeats notes that in Paris he met "from time to time, with the German poet Dauthendey, a grave Swede whom I only discovered after years to have been Strindberg, then looking for the philosophers' stone in a lodging near the Luxembourg" (Per Amica, 367). One of the expressions of Strindberg's search was To Damascus. In this play, the hero, the Stranger, writes constantly in the sand. He explains at one point that what he is writing is "Eve 1864" (To Damascus, 33). Eve is the name the Stranger has given to the fateful lady and in 1864 a disaster is to happen to the Lady and the Stranger (To Damascus, 34). The Stranger, like Ille, "By the help of an image" in the sand calls to his opposite. Ille's words about his search for his anti-self could be applied to the Stranger (see

Poems, 371, ll.70-79). In "Ego Dominus Tuus" Ille points out that the great artists were not satisfied with a single, calm approach to life, but constantly sought their opposites; they were involved, like Keats, "His senses and his heart unsatisfied," in a perpetually unfulfilled quest. In To Damascus, Strindberg presents an interesting image to illustrate the multiplicity necessary to any great thought or work of art. The monastery in Part III contains a portrait gallery in which the great artists and thinkers of the world are depicted as having two or more heads. Each has "the two halves that [make] a whole--a whole man" (To Damascus, 282). This is what Ille seeks.

Mary Catherine Flannery draws attention to the images Ille traces in the sand. She links his activity to that of the Judwalis whose "children are taught dances which leave upon the sand traces full of symbolical meaning" (A Vision, 41). Both Ille and the Judwalis are, according to Flannery, trying "to penetrate reality" with their diagrams (Mary Catherine Flannery, 137). She believes it is significant that Yeats uses the word "trace," for by it "he seems to indicate that the patterns of reality which . . . Ille and the Judwalis seek, are present and must be discovered by ritualistic activity." We should recall that alchemical gold is always present in the base metal and need only be discovered by similarly ritualistic activity.

⁹⁵ See Per Amica, 346.

⁹⁶ Stéphane Mallarmé, "Ballets," in Oeuvres complètes, 306.

⁹⁷ Pater, Renaissance, 132; quoted in part in Kermode, 65.

⁹⁸ Mallarmé, "Ballets," 304.

⁹⁹ For the sake of convenience, I refer to this character as Salome, although this is just one of several traditional names given to the dancing daughter of Herodias who was nameless in the Bible (see Matt. 14:6; Mark 6:22). At various times she has also been known, for example, as Herodiana (see W.B. Crow, A History of Magic, Witchcraft and Occultism [London: The Aquarian Press, 1968], 228), and Boziya (Gaer, 161). Mallarmé explains in the Préface to his Noces d'Hérodiade that he has chosen

le nom d'Hérodiade pour la différencier de la
Salomé je dirai moderne ou exhumée avec son fait-
divers archaïque--la danse, etc., l'isoler comme
l'ont fait des tableaux solitaires dans le fait

même mystérieux--et faire miroiter ce qui probablement hanta, en apparue avec son attribut--le chef du saint--dût la demoiselle constituer un monstre aux amants vulgaires de la vie.

(Les Noces d'Hérodiade, ed. Gardner Davies [Paris: Gallimard, c1959], 51.) Mallarmé has the Salome figure in mind, although there is perhaps something of her mother in her also. A blending of their characters is not unusual: Wilde, for instance, attributes to Salome the passion for John which is associated in legend with Herodias.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Ellmann, "Overtures to Wilde's Salome," Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 17 (1968), 17.

¹⁰¹ In his Commentary on The King of the Great Clock Tower, Yeats refers specifically to Heine and Wilde.

¹⁰² Per Amica, 361.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 361, 357; see also 346.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 346.

¹⁰⁵ Mallarmé's term "in-individuel," used to describe the dancer, is particularly appropriate for Yeats's Queen ("Ballets," 304).

¹⁰⁶ "For a reason that I cannot guess," the Queen tells the Stroller, "I would not harm you" (Plays, 982).

¹⁰⁷ Vendler, 153.

¹⁰⁸ See also The King of the Great Clock Tower, 1934, in Plays, 1006. Vendler points out that "The necessity of that desecration in the lover's night . . . is the theme of so many of the later poems" (Vendler, 153). She draws attention especially to "Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop."

¹⁰⁹ Although Yeats does not state in the stage directions that the Queen's face remains hidden from the audience throughout the rest of the play, there are no indications to the contrary.

¹¹⁰ It is actually the First Attendant who explains the meaning of the vision and thus of the play with the refrain that expresses

the theme. Significantly, the First Attendant is an elderly woman. (See Plays, 978, 979.)

111 Per Amica, 356.

112 Most of the nineteenth-century treatments of the Salome motif include images "de l'union charnelle, destinée à évoquer la fusion mystérieuse du créateur et de son inspiration" (Gardner Davies, Introduction to Mallarmé's Les Noces, 17). Heine's "Atta Troll," Wilde's Salomé, and the fragments of Mallarmé's "Hérodiade" which Davies edits in Les Noces d'Hérodiade all contain scenes in which the Salome figure kisses the severed head of the poet-prophet, thus symbolizing, in Davies words, the "mariage de la beauté parfaite et du pur génie" (Davies, 28).

113 See Axël, 192; A Vision, 136; Per Amica, 357.

114 In a note to "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen" Yeats explains that the horsemen are faeries: apparitions seen at times by the country people who call them "now 'fallen angels' now 'ancient inhabitants of the country'" (Poems, 433n).

115 Autobiographies, 355.

116 Ibid., 191.

117 Ibid., 269, 190.

118 James W. Flannery, 61-62; quoting Yeats, Autobiographies, 194-95. Chapter Three of Flannery's book is devoted to the topic "Creating a Unity Through Ireland and an Irish National Theatre," 58-100.

119 W.B. Yeats, Pages from a Diary Written in Nineteen Hundred and Thirty, in Explorations, 290.

120 Note that Yeats chooses a twilight time between two ages which would allow him to participate in two worlds at once. Among the other civilizations possessing Unity of Culture, Yeats includes mid-fifteenth-century Europe, Castiglione's Urbino, and ancient Greece. See James W. Flannery, 62.

121 On Yeats's ambivalent attitude to the eighteenth century and its great Irish figures, particularly Swift, see Douglas N. Archibald, "The Words upon the Window-pane and Yeats's Encounter with Jonathan Swift," in Yeats and the Theatre, ed. Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, Yeats Studies ([Toronto]: Macmillan, c1975), 176-214.

122 Jeffares, Commentary, 326.

123 Swartz, 222.

124 James W. Flannery, 65.

125 Wilson, Tradition, 137.

126 On the Easter Rising and its relationship to Irish imagination, see Thompson; Chapter Five is devoted to Yeats.

127 Thompson speaks of the "supreme double consciousness" of "Easter 1916" (Thompson, 148). "Easter 1916," first published in Easter, 1916 (1916) is, according to Jeffares, dated September 25, 1916 (Jeffares, Commentary, 224). "The Rose Tree," although it did not appear until November 1920 (in The Dial) is dated April 7, 1917 (Jeffares, Commentary, 230).

128 Thompson, 147.

129 Ibid., 155.

130 In 1916 Easter was actually on April 23. The "sacrificial act" commenced on April 24 (Thompson, 97).

131 The Dreaming of the Bones, set at the time of the 1916 insurrection, is dated 1919 and copyrighted 1918 (Plays, 762).

132 Thompson, 161.

133 Ibid., 162.

134 Harper and Hood comment that the words terror and joy "were particularly associated with [A Vision, 1925], suggesting the feeling appropriate for a new influx" (Notes, 7). They refer the

reader to A Vision (1925), xxii; "To-morrow's Revolution," in On the Boiler (Dublin: The Cuala Press, [1939], rpt. in Explorations, 425; Letters, 901; Modern Poetry, Broadcast National Lectures, 18 (Oct. 11, 1936), (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1936), rpt. in Essays and Introductions, 501; and "Easter 1916," in Poems, 391-94.

135 See Introduction to A Vision (1925), xv-xxiii.

136 "The Tables of the Law," 307.

137 Mary Catherine Flannery notes that a manuscript draft of this poem dates it from 1912 (Mary Catherine Flannery, 128). It was not published, however, until it came out in Poetry, October, 1917. It next appeared in The Wild Swans at Coole, 1917, and the New Statesman (17 November, 1917) before being published in Per Amica Silentia Lunae in 1918.

138 Hic's seemingly narcissistic pursuit of himself seems a little odd for primary man, since, as we have seen, in A Vision it is the antithetical person who is absorbed with self. Michael J. Sidnell points out, however, that "Ego Dominus Tuus" is the "germinal poem" of the cycle of eight poems which are the "opening movement of the new set" of works revolving around Michael Robartes. The poem is, as a result, "groping" and "more tentative than those that followed" (Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 226, 240, 227n). Sidnell examines the eight poems of the "opening movement" in his article. (See especially 226-40.) Mary Catherine Flannery reprints the 1912 draft of "Ego Dominus Tuus" and notes some of the differences between it and the final version. She points out that many of Ille's speeches in the final version belong to Hic in the early draft and concludes that these characters are not contradictory, but complementary, representing "interchangeable parts of Yeats's own personality" (Mary Catherine Flannery, 129-38).

139 Harper and Hood, Ed. Intro., xxviii.

140 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 226.

141 Ibid., 229.

142 The note continued to appear in this form until 1933 when the reference to John Aherne was removed from The Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats (1933) and subsequent volumes. (See Poems, 821.) Sid-

nell calls attention to a 1922 letter to Allan Wade in which Yeats explains about Michael Robartes:

I have brought him back to life. My new story is that he is very indignant because I used his real name in describing a number of fictitious adventures, and that because I called my fictitious hero by his name, many people have supposed him to be dead. He lived for years in Mesopotamia, but when the war came there returned to England for a short time. In England he got into communication with a certain John Aherne, and through him got into correspondence with me, and finally conveyed to me, without quite forgiving me, the task of editing and publishing the philosophy which he has discovered among certain Arabian tribes. That philosophy now fills a very large tin box upon which my eyes at this moment are fixed. I am giving it to the world in fragments, poems, notes, and a Cuala volume.

(Letters, 676-77; quoted in Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 228-29.)

¹⁴³ In the very early stages of A Vision it was first John Aherne and then Owen who participated in the dialogue with Michael Robartes. (See Harper and Hood, Ed. Intro., xxviii.) Sidnell suggests that John "may have been a fused recollection of Owen Aherne (founded on Lionel Johnson) and John Hearne, the father of the protagonist in The Speckled Bird" (Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 229n).

¹⁴⁴ "The Adoration of the Magi," 309.

¹⁴⁵ Harper and Hood, Notes, 8.

¹⁴⁶ Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 238.

¹⁴⁷ Sidnell would add a third instance of Robartes' being cast as poet. He suggests that Yeats is alluding to Robartes when, in "A People's Theatre," he refers to "a certain friend" who has written "The Phases of the Moon" and "The Double Vision" (Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 233n; see Explorations, 259). Yeats does not indicate who is the author of Robartes' book, referred to in "Ego Dominus Tuus." The book may have been written by Robartes himself or it may be a precursor to Speculum Angelorum et Hominum,

which Sidnell notes had not yet been invented when Yeats wrote "Ego Dominus Tuus." See Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 233.

148 A Vision (1925), xx.

149 Ibid., xxi, xx.

150 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 246.

151 Ibid., 246-47.

152 Yeats shared Robartes' views on women who think. See, for example, "A Prayer for my Daughter," Poems, 403-06.

153 See A Vision, 53.

154 See Plays, 566-67, 777-79, 789-91.

155 This poem, dated 1923, first appeared as "The Gift of Haroun El Rashid" in English Life and the Illustrated Review in January 1924. The Dial published it in June 1924, when it was accompanied by a lengthy prose note quoting a "passage in a letter of Owen Aherne's" which Yeats said he would be including in A Vision (Poems, 828-29). It did not, however, appear there. The "letter" gives the "bare narrative" on which the poem was purported to have been founded. Although published earlier, this note seems to have been written later than the Introduction to the 1925 edition of A Vision. Compare the following passages, the first from A Vision, the second from the note to "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid":

The Judwali had once possessed a learned book called "The Way of the Soul between the Sun and the Moon" and attributed to a certain Kusta ben Luka, Christian Philosopher at the Court of Harun Al-Raschid, and though this, and a smaller book describing the personal life of the philosopher, had been lost or destroyed in desert fighting some generations before his [an old Judwali man's] time, its doctrines were remembered, for they had always constituted the beliefs of the Judwalis who look upon Kusta ben Luka as their founder. (A Vision, 1925, xix)

* * * * *

All these contradictory stories seem to be a confused recollection of the contents of a little old book, lost many years ago with Kustaben-Luka's larger book in the desert battle which I have already described.

(Poems, 829; emphasis mine.) "The Gift of Haroun El Rashid" was included in the 1925 version of A Vision in the section entitled "What the Caliph Refused to Learn." It is re-titled "Desert Geometry or the Gift of Harun Al-Raschid."

156 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 249.

157 Ibid.

158 Ibid., 250.

159 A Vision (1925), xv.

160 Recall that "subjectivity--in Empedocles 'Discord' as I think--tends to separate man from man" (A Vision, 72).

161 A Vision (1925), xvi, xx.

162 Ibid., xvii.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid.

165 Ibid., xviii-xix.

166 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 247.

167 W.B. Yeats, unpublished manuscript; quoted in Ellmann, Identity, 321-22.

168 A Vision (1925), xxi-xxii.

169 Ibid., xxi.

- 170 Ibid., xxii.
- 171 Unpublished manuscript; quoted in Ellmann, Identity, 323.
- 172 A Vision (1925), 235-36, 237-38, 245-46, 246-47.
- 173 Compare A Vision (1925), 237-38 and A Vision (1962), 12-13, 16; A Vision (1925), 245-46 and A Vision (1962), 14-15.
- 174 A Vision (1925), xxiii.
- 175 "The Dance of the Four Royal Persons" may be the source of a solitary and rather strange association of Aherne with dancers, women, and love. In The Tower, published in 1928, there is a poem entitled "Owen Aherne [sic] and his Dancers" (the spelling was changed to Aherne in 1933). This one poem had originally appeared in The Cat and the Moon in 1924 as two: "The Lover Speaks" and "The Heart Replies." The only mention of Aherne is in the title, which is difficult to relate to the poem. The clue may, however, lie in "The Dance of the Four Royal Persons." Since the account was "written" by Aherne, the Four Royal Persons, who present themselves as "the King, the Queen, the Prince and the Princess of the Country of Wisdom," (A Vision, 1925, 9), might be considered to be Aherne's dancers. They are perhaps linked to the poem because the Heart of the fifty-year-old Lover shows wisdom in making him "turn away and run from that young child" and in urging him to "let her choose a young man now and all for his wild sake" (Poems, 450).
- 176 W.B. Yeats, Stories of Michael Robartes and his Friends (Dublin: The Cuala Press, [1932]). Although the date on the title page is 1931, the colophon indicates that the volume was finished in 1931, but published in 1932. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from the Stories are taken from A Vision, 1962.
- 177 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 254.
- 178 Ibid., 252.
- 179 Huddon, Duddon, and Daniel O'Leary are also found in a poem which was first published in 1932 in Words for Music Perhaps and Other Poems: "Tom the Lunatic" (see Poems, 528-29). In "Michael Robartes: Two Occult Manuscripts," in Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, Walter Kelly Hood notes that the names Huddon,

Duddon, and Daniel O'Leary are taken from "Donald and His Neighbours," a tale from Hibernian Tales which Yeats included in Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry (see Hood, "Michael Robartes," 216n). The names in "Donald and His Neighbours" are actually "Hudden and Dudden and Donald O'Nery" (see Fairy and Folk Tales, 270).

180 Stories of Michael Robartes and his Friends (1932), 11. The "doggerel of Blake's" is actually two poems: "Long John Brown and Little Mary Bell" and "William Bond," Blake Complete Writings, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 434, 434-36. In the Ellis/Yeats edition of Blake they are found on 81 and 79 respectively of Vol. III.

181 W.B. Yeats, "Michael Robartes Foretells," unpublished typescript, printed in Hazard Adams, Blake and Yeats: The Contrary Vision, Cornell Studies in English (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955), Appendix B, 301-05. Hood prints his reading of "Michael Robartes Foretells" together with another discarded work, "Appendix by Michael Robartes," in "Michael Robartes: Two Occult Manuscripts."

Hood dates "Michael Robartes Foretells" after Lady Gregory's death in 1932, and decides on 1936 as the most likely date (see Hood, "Michael Robartes," 216). The "Appendix by Michael Robartes" is a much earlier and more incomplete work, which Hood says is impossible to date exactly; he concludes, however, that it was probably written between 1918 and 1921 (see Hood, "Michael Robartes," 205-06). The Appendix, intended to clarify a conversation between Robartes and Aherne, was probably meant to accompany A Vision in its early form as a dialogue between these men. Hood describes it as "a strange appendix which presents the central materials of A Vision--the meaning of primary and antithetical, the nature of its cycles, and the like"; it also "wanders from its initial intentions; starting as a commentary on five diagrams, it comments on only one and then roves away from the one, making a return to the topic difficult or impossible" (Hood, "Michael Robartes," 206). The Appendix has an obvious aesthetic focus, but it is confusing and suggests that Yeats has not yet mastered his material (see Hood, "Michael Robartes," 207-08).

182 This is also the image of Huddon, Duddon, and O'Leary presented in "Tom the Lunatic" (see Poems, 529).

183 The Secret Rose, 1897, vii.

184 The image of burning out also appears in "Tom the Lunatic."

185 See Parks, Chapter VI (130-45) for further treatment of the Stories as mockery of former ideals, particularly in relation to Villiers.

186 See A Vision, 54.

187 See *ibid.*, 36.

188 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 253.

189 Although, as we have seen, Yeats has consciously taken the name "Mary Bell" from a poem by Blake, there is perhaps an unconscious echo of an earlier character of his own: Mary Lavell, the sweetheart of the Hanrahan stories and the O'Sullivan Rua poems. There are links also with other Marys in his own works: Mary Carton is John Sherman's beloved, Crazy Jane was originally Cracked Mary, and of course, the Virgin Mary plays an important role in Yeats's work.

190 Both Mary and John Bond were "Brought up in the strictest principles of the Church of Ireland," and were horror-stricken when they fell in love at first sight (A Vision, 44).

191 Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 254.

192 *Ibid.*, 252-53.

193 See A Vision, 50-51.

194 Compare the relationship between Ewald and Alicia, who, although not a dancer, is an "artiste."

195 Yeats must have felt this passage to be particularly important, for he quotes from it in On the Boiler when predicting--indeed desiring--the coming of the next great war that will, he hopes, end the crisis that modern civilization has reached. See "To-morrow's Revolution," 425-26.

196 "Michael Robartes Foretells," Adams, 301; Hood, 219.

197 Yeats seems to have been uneasy with making predictions: "Michael Robartes Foretells" remained unpublished and its parallel

in the 1925 edition of A Vision was removed when the book was revised (compare A Vision, 1925, 210-15 and A Vision, 1962, 300; see also the note to A Vision, 1925, 214, in Harper and Hood's Notes, 66. The predictions of war, mechanism, automatism, and decadence culminating in the arrival of the new era "bringing its stream of irrational force" (A Vision, 1925, 213) are replaced in the revised edition with the avowal, in "The End of the Cycle," that, try as he may, Yeats is unable to see the future. He knows the new age will be subjective, but the details of "the counter-movement, the antithetical multiform influx" are hidden from him:

Then I understand. I have already said all that can be said. The particulars are the work of the Thirteenth Cone or cycle which is in every man and called by every man his freedom. Doubtless, for it can do all things and knows all things, it knows what it will do with its own freedom but it has kept the secret. (A Vision, 302)

198 "Michael Robartes Foretells," Adams, 301; Hood, 219.

199 Ibid., Adams, 301-02; Hood, 219. Hood's reading of the typescript is slightly different here from Adams': Hood prints, "the State as moulded by History" (emphasis mine).

200 Ibid., Adams, 302; Hood, 220.

201 Ibid.

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid., Adams, 304; Hood, 222.

204 Ibid., Adams, 305; Hood, 224.

205 Both chronologically and as far as content is concerned, "Owen Aherne and his Dancers" (1928) stands in isolation.

206 Thompson, 165-66.

207 Ibid., 165.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹ Ian F.A. Bell, "The Phantasmagoria of Hugh Selwyn Mauberley," Paideuma, 5, No. 3 (Winter, 1976), 374. "The Magic Lantern" is found in The Pathos of Distance (New York: Scribner's, 1913), 3-15. Bell notes that although he has been "unable to find any reference to it in de Gourmont's published works," Huneker "claims that Villiers had also told the story to Rémy de Gourmont" (Bell, 374n). De Gourmont's version of the tale, entitled "Le Mirage," appears in "Notes sur Villiers de l'Isle-Adam," Mercure de France (août, 1890), 261-62, and is reprinted in the appendix to Vol. XI of Villiers's Oeuvres complètes, 276. Huneker's essay contains a fully detailed narrative in Villiers's voice. De Gourmont's version is a single paragraph which he describes as "le strict squelette" of the story told to him "en quelques traits" one day in the spring of 1889 when Villiers was "déjà malade et sur sa fin" (de Gourmont, "Notes," 261).

² Bell, 374.

³ See Huneker, 8, 9, 13. Rémy de Gourmont's outline of Villiers's tale mentions only "le mécanisme des mirages" (Appendice, Oeuvres complètes, XI, 276).

⁴ Bell, 374.

⁵ Because of its inclusion in a work that was unpublished at the time, Pound may not have been familiar with Yeats's use of the term phantasmagoria in his private Journal entry for December 13, 1908 (see Memoirs, 138). One of the other instances in which Yeats uses the word prior to 1920 is, however, particularly important in connection with Pound. In his article on "Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places," published in 1914, Yeats uses the word "phantasmagoria" twice and writes at length of related ideas. In the same article he comments: "Last winter Mr. Ezra Pound was editing the late Professor Fenollosa's translations of the Noh Drama of Japan, and read me a great deal of what he was doing" ("Swedenborg," 64-65). "Last winter" was the winter of 1913 when Pound and Yeats were living together at Stone Cottage, Coleman's Hatch (see Joseph Hone, W.B. Yeats 1865-1939, 2nd ed. [London:

Macmillan, 1962], 272). In 'Noh' or Accomplishment, a Study of the Classical Stage of Japan, Pound mentions Yeats a number of times. Yeats himself wrote an Introduction to Certain Noble Plays of Japan: from the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, chosen and finished by Ezra Pound (Dundrum: The Cuala Press, 1916; Intro. republished in the reprint of 'Noh' or Accomplishment: The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan, by Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa [New York: New Directions, c1959], 151-63). By his own admission, the Noh was an important influence on Yeats's drama. He saw strong parallels between the supernatural portrayed in the Noh, Irish folk beliefs, and occult thought. In A Vision, Yeats illustrates his description of the Phantasmagoria stage of the Meditation with a story from a Noh play (see A Vision, 231 and above, Chapter Four, 293-94).

⁶ "A General Introduction," 509.

⁷ Bell, 362.

⁸ On phantasmagoria in Yeats's work, see, for example, J. Middleton Murry, "Mr. Yeats's Swan Song," Athenaeum, 4640 (April 4, 1919), rpt. in Aspects of Literature, rev. ed. (Jonathan Cape, c1934), rpt. Hall and Steinman, 9-13; Vendler, 78-80; Ellmann, Identity, 62-63; Harold Bloom, Yeats (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 178-89; Gould, *passim*; Kathleen Raine, "Hades Wrapped in Cloud," in Yeats and the Occult, ed. George Mills Harper, 98-101; Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," *passim*.

⁹ See Olive Cook, Movement in Two Dimensions: A Study of the Animated and Projected Pictures which Preceded the Invention of Cinematography (London: Hutchinson, 1963), 12-13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹² Cook, 18-19. Compare Kircher's screen with the veil and mask which serve both to conceal and to reveal the unknown.

¹³ The magic lantern technology included "an apparatus known as a 'Metamorphoser'" which was used to facilitate the smooth changing of slides (Cook, 95).

¹⁴ See Cook, 19.

¹⁵ "Phantasmagoria," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., 1911.

- ¹⁶ See *ibid.*; Cook, 20; Bell, 362.
- ¹⁷ Cook, 20.
- ¹⁸ "Lantern," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XVI, 11th ed., 1911, 187.
- ¹⁹ Cook, 101.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Bell, 362.
- ²³ "Phantasmagoria," Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- ²⁴ Bell, 363. Aside from Pound and Villiers, among the authors that Bell cites for their references to phantasmagoria or to the magic lantern are T.S. Eliot, Fenimore Cooper, Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Gustave Flaubert, Edgar Allan Poe, Henry James, and Stéphane Mallarmé. Ellmann mentions Rimbaud and Baudelaire (Identity, 62). To this list I would add not only Yeats, but also Maurice Beaubourg (L'Image, 14) and Goethe. That Goethe intended the conjuring of Paris and Helena in Faust, Part II, Act I, as an instance of phantasmagoria is established by the title of the second sketch for the announcement of the Helena, published in 1826: "Helena. Classical-Romantic Phantasmagoria. Interlude to Faust." (See Faust, ed. Hamlin, 399.) I am indebted to Bente Roed Cochran for drawing this sketch to my attention.
- ²⁵ Bell, 366.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 368-69, 375.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 374.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 364.
- ²⁹ Walter Pater, Marius the Epicurean His Sensations and Ideas, 1885, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: New American Library, c1970), 94-95; emphasis mine. Marius the Epicurean was, according to Yeats,

"our only contemporary classic" (Memoirs, 36) and "the only great prose in modern English" (Autobiographies, 302). In the first draft of his autobiography, Yeats specifically mentions the "Ani-mula Vagula" chapter three times (see Memoirs, 36, 42, 95).

³⁰ Eliphas Lévi, La Clef, 244, 246.

³¹ Schuré, 332.

³² Regardie, I, 203.

³³ "Rosa Alchemica," 284.

³⁴ Tribulat Bonhomet, 149.

³⁵ Ibid., 198. On the camera obscura, peepshow, and panorama see Cook, 23-46.

³⁶ Tribulat Bonhomet, 30.

³⁷ "Duke of Portland," in Contes cruels, in Oeuvres complètes, II, 103.

³⁸ Ibid., 104.

³⁹ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 106.

⁴¹ Ibid., 109.

⁴² "Le Tzar et les Grands-Ducs," 201-02. It is significant that Wagner's opera uses phantasmagoric projection in its opening and closing scenes. In the first scene, set inside the Venusberg, the Three Graces perform a dance "interpretive of the stories of Europa and the White Bull and Leda and the Swan as these scenes loom up in the background" (Milton Cross, Complete Stories of the Great Operas [New York: Doubleday, c1955]; rev. and abridged as Stories of the Great Operas [New York: Washington Square Press, 1961], 360). In the final scene, shortly after Wolfram sings his song to the Evening Star, Tannhäuser calls out in despair to Venus. Milton Cross describes what happens: "A confusing whirl of dancing forms

becomes visible to the strains of the Venusberg Music as Venus appears, reclining upon her couch, singing her delirious and seductive melody" (Cross, 366). When Wolfram pulls Tannhäuser's thoughts back from Venus to the pure love of Elisabeth, the vision of Venus disappears.

⁴³ See "Les Expériences du Dr. Crookes," 165-66.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 172.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 173.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 174.

⁴⁷ Ibid. J.-K. Huysmans refers to the experiments of Crookes in a very interesting passage on the paintings of Whistler. His description of Whistler's portrait of Miss Alexander strongly suggests the phantasmagoria:

Ainsi que dans les autres oeuvres de M. Wisthler [sic], il y a, dans cette toile un coin supraterrestre, déconcertant. Certes, son personnage est ressemblant, est réel, cela est sûr; certes, il y a, en sus de sa chair, un peu de son caractère dans cette peinture, mais il y a aussi un côté surnaturel émané de ce peintre mystérieux, un peu spectral, qui justifie dans une certaine mesure, ce mot de spirite écrit par Desnoyers [dans sa description de La Fille Blanche de Whistler]. L'on ne peut, en effet, lire les révélations plus ou moins véridiques du docteur Crookes sur cette Katie, sur cette ombre incarnée en une forme dédoublée de femme tangible et pourtant fluide, sans songer à ces portraits de femmes de Wisthler, ces portraits-fantômes qui semblent reculer, vouloir s'enfoncer dans le mur, avec leurs yeux énigmatiques et leur bouche d'un rouge glacé, de goule.

(J.-K. Huysmans, "Wisthler," in Certains [Paris: Tresse & Stock, 1889], 69.)

⁴⁸ Among the educational uses Edison ponders for "L'Objectif, aidé du Phonographe (qui sont connexes)" (L'Eve, 45) is the reproduction of scenes of torture through the ages: "Quel enseignement

salubre c'eût été dans les lycées, pour assainir l'intelligence des enfants modernes--et même des grandes personnes!--Quelle lanterne magique!"

⁴⁹ Villiers was prescient in the matter of Edison's talking motion pictures. L'Eve nouvelle appeared in 1880-1881; it reappeared as L'Eve future in 1885-1886. About the year 1880 Eadweard Muybridge [James Edward Muggeridge] invented what he called the Zoogyroscope, an instrument for projecting a series of sequential photographs of an animal that would create the illusion of movement. Muybridge approached Edison about the possibility of using the phonograph together with the Zoogyroscope "so as to combine and reproduce simultaneously, in the presence of an audience, visible actions and audible words" (quoted in Cook, 132). According to Cook, Muybridge and Edison discussed combining their inventions in 1883, but Robert Conot says their meeting took place in February 1888 (see Conot, 320). Edison and his assistants began work that year on a device for producing moving pictures and synchronizing them with sound. In October he filed a caveat on the kinetograph (for recording photographs) and the kinetoscope (for viewing them): "I am experimenting upon an instrument which does for the Eye what the phonograph does for the Ear, which is the recording and reproduction of things in motion, and in such a form as to be both Cheap practical and convenient" (quoted in Conot, 323).

The kinetoscope that was finally produced in 1890 replaced Muybridge's rigid photographic plates with perforated celluloid film strips. Edison's kinetoscope was thus an extremely important precursor of the modern movie projector, although, as Cook notes, it produced a very small image that made it impractical for use with large audiences. Conot's description of the effect produced when Edison's associate, William Dickson, experimented with showing the kinetoscope pictures on a screen is interesting in the present context: Dickson "achieved a projection about ten inches square. The projection room was draped in black, and there was a distinct aura of the supernatural as the lilliputian figures mysteriously appeared and disappeared" (Conot, 327).

⁵⁰ "Les Phantasmes de M. Redoux," in Histoires insolites, Oeuvres complètes, VI, 87.

⁵¹ Ibid., 92, 91.

⁵² Ibid., 94.

⁵³ Huneker, 14, 15. El-Ferenghy's magic lantern show has much in common with the shadow plays described by Cook in her chapters

"Far Eastern Shadows," "Karagöz," and "The Chinese Shades" (Cook, 47-80). The first of these chapters begins with an epigraph from Omar Khayyām:

Far in and out, above, about, below,
 'Tis nothing but a Magic Shadow-show,
 Played in a Box whose Candle is the Sun,
 Round which we Phantom Figures come and go. (Cook, 47)

⁵⁴ Huneker, 13.

⁵⁵ Bell seems to have been taken in by Villiers's phantasmagoria, as the English were by El-Ferenghy's. He accepts the tale as an "anecdote" concerning an actual incident experienced by Villiers (see Bell, 374-75). Bell has missed the clue Villiers himself provides: "When I was in Africa--don't stare, I've been all over the world--I found myself, some fifteen years ago, on the border of the Red Sea" (Huneker, 9). Villiers had been all over the world--in the same manner that Axël and Sara had been on their magnificent honeymoon trip, Samuel Wissler had been on his magic voyage with "Maria" (see Elën, in Oeuvres complètes, VIII, 266-72), and Huysmans's des Esseintes had been to London--in imagination only.

⁵⁶ Letters, 218.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 218-19.

⁵⁸ Finneran states that the text of The Celtic Twilight included in Mythologies (1959) is essentially the same as the text published in Early Poems and Stories (1925). It is not, however, an exact reprint, but includes revisions made by Yeats on page proofs of the 1925 text and dated September 30 to October 26, 1931. Finneran believes the revisions were probably intended "for the abortive 'Coole Edition'" ("Yeats's Revisions in The Celtic Twilight," 98).

⁵⁹ The Celtic Twilight (1912), 18-19; emphasis mine.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁶¹ Memoirs, 138.

⁶² See also A Vision (1925), 226; and Harper and Hood, Notes, 70.

⁶³ Raine, "Hades," 101. In the section of his Autobiographies entitled "The Trembling of the Veil," Yeats wonders about A.E.'s refusal "to examine and question his visions":

Were they so much a part of his subconscious life that they would have vanished had he submitted them to question; were they like those voices that only speak, those strange sights that only show themselves for an instant, when the attention has been withdrawn; that phantasmagoria of which I had learnt something in London: and had his verse and his painting a like origin? (Autobiographies, 243)

The phantasmagoria to which Yeats refers here is that of the séance-room and similar spiritualist experiences.

⁶⁴ "Swedenborg," 45, 52.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 53.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 54.

⁶⁷ "Swedenborg," 55. A galanty (or galantee) show was a travelling magic lantern show which, according to Cook, in at least one form continued the ancient association of supernatural themes with the projection of images. The galantee show was frequently accompanied by the music of a hand organ. Perhaps thus began the tradition of musical accompaniment for the motion picture--a tradition that, although more evident in connection with silent movies, is nonetheless important to the "talkies." On the galantee show, see Cook, 81-85.

⁶⁸ See Villiers, "L'Ombre de Meyerbeer," ed. E. Drougard, L'Arche, 17 (juillet, 1946), 11n.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁷¹ Ibid., 10-11.

⁷² Ibid., 11-12.

⁷³ "L'Ombre de Meyerbeer," 12. It is interesting that just before the narrator views the phantasmagoric projection of Meyerbeer's spirit, he hears "quelque chose qui ressemblait à la marche du Prophète jouée par un orchestre" (L'Arche, 12).

⁷⁴ Bloom discusses Per Amica Silentia Lunae in some detail in his Chapter 12, 178-89.

⁷⁵ Yeats writes in the Epilogue to Per Amica Silentia Lunae of his attendance at the première of Axël, "I hoped to recognise the moment when Axël cries: 'I know that lamp, it was burning before Solomon'" (Per Amica, 368). Bloom notes that "In the total structure of Yeats's work, Per Amica Silentia Lunae serves as introduction to the visionary center, to the later poems in The Wild Swans at Coole, and to Michael Robartes and the Dancer, Four Plays for Dancers, and A Vision itself" (Bloom, 178). It is strange, then, that commentators are generally silent on the significance of the title of Per Amica Silentia Lunae except to remark in passing that it comes from the Aeneid (II, 1.255). Yeats obviously attached a certain importance to the phrase, for he repeats it in fuller form in the structural centre of the work: the introductory section of "Anima Mundi" (Per Amica, 343). It would seem that "Per Amica silentia lunae" is one of the "sensuous images or exciting phrases" that Yeats delighted in because they display "great problems" (Per Amica, 343). Yeats relates the phrase directly to himself: "I . . . have put myself to school where all things are seen: A Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae" (Per Amica, 343). The Yeatsian context connects the phrase both with "anima hominis," the individual mind, and with "anima mundi," "the general mind" (Per Amica, 343). In the Virgilian context, the phrase has a certain grim irony: Aeneas is describing the approach of the Greek army just prior to the penetration and destruction of Troy. The friendly silence of the mute moon, then, contributes to the destruction of an old civilization. This destruction eventually, after the peregrinations of Aeneas, results in the birth of a new civilization. In the Aeneid, the silent moon casts an especially interesting shadow: the shade of Hector appears to Aeneas in a vision, urges him to flee the burning towers of Troy, and prophesies his role in the establishment of the new era (see Aeneid, II, 11.268-95).

⁷⁶ Bloom, 178.

⁷⁷ Per Amica, 321.

78 Bloom, 179.

79 Per Amica, 334.

80 Ibid., 331.

81 Ibid., 357.

82 Ibid.; emphasis mine. See also "A Meditation in Time of War" (1920): "One is animate/Mankind inanimate phantasy" (Poems, 406).

83 Per Amica, 356n.

84 These particular uses of the term phantasmagoria by Yeats have caused some critical comment, the first coming in 1919 from J. Middleton Murry in "Mr. Yeats' Swan Song." Murry attacks The Wild Swans at Coole precisely because, "on the poet's word and the evidence of our search, we . . . find phantasmagoria, ghostly symbols of a truth which cannot be otherwise conveyed, at least by Mr. Yeats" (Murry, 9). Murry acknowledges that the poet, although "driven to approach the highest reality he can apprehend," cannot "transcribe it" without recourse to myth "as a foundation upon which he can explicate his imagination" (Murry, 9). This myth may be the poet's own creation, but it must, Murry insists, be intelligible to others. He believes that Yeats has failed in this task and, therefore, lies open to "the charge of idle dreaming" (Murry, 10).

By the time Richard Ellmann first published The Identity of Yeats in 1954, it was clear that, in Sidnell's words, "What Murry seized as the evidence of Yeats's poetic inanition, the intercourse with phantasmagoria, was, of course, the opening of a splendid phase in Yeats's work, not the sterile conclusion to it" (Sidnell, "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," 227). Thus Ellmann was much more positive than Murry in his assessment of the significance of phantasmagoria in Yeats's work. For Yeats, Ellmann wrote, phantasmagoria designated

that structure of related images through which he could express himself, and through which, as he later said, "the dream and the reality" might "face one another in visible array". What was personal and transitory might be welded with what was imper-

sonal and permanent through a group of images which had attracted men for hundreds of years. These images were phantasmagoric not in that they were illusory, but in that they represented, more than they participated in, the secret essences of things. (Ellmann, Identity, 62)

85 Sidnell considers "the relations between actuality and fiction" in the later works revolving around Michael Robartes. See "Mr. Yeats, Michael Robartes," *passim*.

86 Autobiographies, 306.

87 "Modern Poetry," 500-01.

88 "A General Introduction," 509n.

89 *Ibid.*, 509-10. Discussing this passage, Bloom states that "there is no escape from or evasion of personality in this phantasmagoria, which is indeed precisely what Blake and Pater called 'vision' and the other major Romantics the Secondary or creative Imagination" (Bloom, 179-80). Bloom describes the conclusion of the passage as "the most powerful and self-confident proclamation of the High Romantic imagination made in our time" (Bloom, 180).

90 Mallarmé, "Autobiographie," 663.

91 Cook, 101.

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